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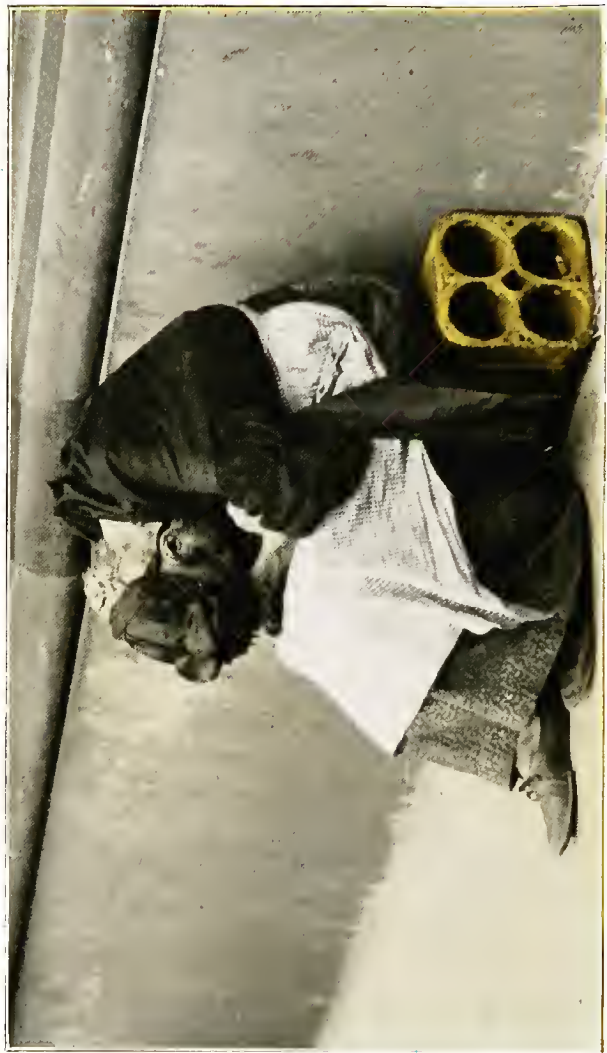
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY

**A Systematic Course of Reading in Preparation
for the Larger Citizenship**

Editor

SHAILER MATHEWS, D.D.

Dean Divinity School, The University of Chicago
President, Western Economic Society

TWELVE VOLUMES • FULLY ILLUSTRATED



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VOLUME X

Woman and the Larger Citizenship

The Prevention of Social Waste

List of Articles

WHAT IS MEANT BY SOCIAL WASTE

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PART I

What is Meant by Social Waste?

INTRODUCTION

By SHAILER MATHEWS, D.D.

SOCIAL LIFE may be studied from a variety of points of views but probably none guarantees a truer estimate of social forces than that of social evolution. To think of our world as fixed is to make impossible any explanation of our modern life. We live in a world of change. Social institutions grow out of social institutions and the processes of social growth are as real as those of individual life.

When once we see our modern world as a cause as well as an effect, a moment in a long process, we can understand how important it is to have this unceasing growth properly directed. More than that, we see how all its great constructive forces should be conserved as the material out of which the future can be built. It is as necessary to plant new lives in the barren spots of our social life as it is to plant new trees on the sides of the mountain.

American people are wasteful beyond estimate. But

however reckless and improvident has been our treatment of nature, our treatment of the human forces out from which our nation must be built has been even more short-sighted. Social waste has been worse than material waste.

Waste of Human Life

Think, for instance, of the terrible waste in human life. How we kill people in railroad wrecks, mines, mills, foundries, cement works, match factories, not to mention others as deadly. We shrink at the loss of life which results from continental wars but the deaths in our industrial world due to bad conditions, preventable dangers and industrial diseases outnumber the losses from any war of modern times.

Then there is infant mortality. The number of little babies that die before they are a year old is appallingly large, particularly in those regions of our cities where dense ignorance of sanitary and hygienic law abounds. Bad milk, bad feeding, bad housing, bad clothing, dirt, drink, ignorance, poverty, form an almost impenetrable barrier through which infants have to make their way to maturity.

The Waste of Human Energy

Again there is the waste of human energy born of indifference to elemental welfare. So long as men are treated as cogs of an industrial machine, so long

are they to be valued at the cost of production. Immigrants have thus far come cheap and it has been easy to permit the destruction of strong lives because they could be easily replaced by others equally strong.

Similarly in the case of child and woman labor. Certain industries have been built up at the expense of the coming generation. Little children have been forced to work when they should have been in school or at play. Women have been forced to tend looms and enter into other industrial work when they should have been devoting their lives to their children and their homes. It is true that the cost of production has been somewhat reduced in terms of dollars but it has been enormously increased in terms of national efficiency. No waste of life can be justified by dividends. We are coming to see this more plainly than in the past but there is still an enormous amount of waste of human energy and human life declared to be justified by the appeal to economic needs.

There is, too, the sad loss from old age. The problem of the industrial worker sixty or even fifty years of age is one which demands a far better answer than that furnished by poorhouses. It is of course natural that employers should want men who have a surplus of strength and vigor but this is by no means the final answer to the query why men of experience and of skill but of slower nervous reaction should be thrown into the social scrap heap.

The Waste in Social Defectives

Another source of terrible loss is our failure to care for the defective classes. There is small caution taken against the propagation of imbeciles, epileptics and other defective life, and there is serious mishandling of those who, although apparently mature in body, are in reality undeveloped mentally and nervously. Out from the multitude of statistics which are now coming to us from our social workers, one thing is clearly emerging; namely, many of our criminals are really undeveloped lives. We treat them as if they were mature, but society has not seen to it that they have matured. It is inevitable therefore that the life of the community should suffer. It is such defectively developed lives which easily yield to vicious temptation. If we had the proper institutions for conserving such lives and helping them really to develop, we should avoid much of that waste which so terribly drains our body politic.

The Waste in Criminals

The terrible waste of crime is too generally assured by the treatment accorded to criminals in our penal institutions. There is still widespread belief in the necessity of retributive justice. We want the criminal to suffer and so we put him into solitary confinement, or, in some other way see to it that his self-respect is broken. It requires only the most ordinary knowledge of the situation to realize that our prisons

and jails are costing the nation thousands of good citizens. It is only natural, therefore, that we are beginning to demand that our prisons do something more than cause criminals to suffer and that they endeavor to send their inmates out ready to enter the industrial world as productive members of the community.

Back of all these causes of waste there is to be found generally some determining element in the industrial order. Much of our social waste is due to moral weakness but more is due to the ills of our economic order. Social waste can be to a considerable extent lessened without any radical changes in industrial institutions but it will not be even approximately eliminated until better ideals operate throughout the world of industry.

The Need of Political Action

From this rapid review of forces operating to reduce the efficiency of society, it must be evident that there are plenty of opportunities for women as well as men to help on the cause of social conservation. None of these wastes can be eliminated by merely individual activity. There must be concerted action if we are to prevent the waste of life in the various walks of life, but concerted action means, of course, political action. The ills of society can not be cured without the aid of the state. The activities of the state are radically different from those of merely maintaining

the peace, levying taxes, waging war, issuing money and the fulfilling of other traditional functions. The modern state should be an executive committee providing for the general welfare of all its constituent parts. A woman needs to recognize her position in the state, not only to conserve the right which should be peculiarly hers but also to provide for those other state activities which are so different from what we used to call political. In no point is her influence to be more keenly felt than in the prevention of this social waste.

The Need of Technical Knowledge

The various means by which this waste is to be prevented are to be discussed in successive papers, but it is obvious that a successful campaign of social conservation must involve something more than good intentions. There must be technical knowledge as well. In fact, so delicate and difficult are the problems suggested by this social waste that good intentions without knowledge may be a source of harm rather than of help. Before one can safely prescribe for a disease he should be able to discover its causes as well as its symptoms. The diseases of society are quite as complicated as those of individuals. It may be a serious mistake to attempt to allay symptoms. Take for example, the terrible misery which is wrought by alcoholism! Any eugenic policy must face the fact that defective lives are often descendants from some ancestor cursed by alcohol; and yet the problem of

preventing alcoholism is something very much more complicated than the mere abolition of the saloons, highly desirable as that would be. There are economic, physiological and social conditions which occasion alcoholism. These must be faced and cannot be remedied except after the most careful diagnosis of the entire situation.

The same is true of old age and the waste of life in our factories.

Such problems as these are well worth the most serious attention on the part of intelligent women. As our social order develops it is becoming increasingly obvious that the duties of any citizen are not limited by sex and there is a vast service to be rendered by women in the way, not only of pushing humanity along the line of its best ideals, but in the conservation of that social inheritance which belongs to us all.

PART II

Child Labor in America

By OWEN R. LOVEJOY

I. WHY CHILD LABOR EXISTS

CHILD LABOR exists in America because three parties want it: the employer, the parent, and the child. Since these are the only parties directly involved, they constitute a combination hard to break. The combination can never be broken effectually unless the public awakens to the serious nature of the problem, and by constructive statesmanship leads all three parties to a higher plane. Not all employers favor child labor; indeed, the great majority recognize that the employment of ignorant, inefficient little workers is wasteful and extravagant, from the standpoint of industry as well as of the child's welfare. Neither do all parents and children conspire to continue the system, but there are enough parents goaded by poverty, or limited in their vision by ignorance, and enough children tempted by the desire for personal independence, or victims of a misdirected ambition to be doing something, to constitute in the aggregate a force to be reckoned with.



Photograph from The National Child Labor Committee

TYPES OF CHILDREN WORKING IN A CANNERY

II. EXTENT AND GROWTH

The census reports of 1900 showed that we had developed at that time an army numbering more than 1,752,000 working children. These were classified by age as follows:

BREADWINNERS 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, 1900

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Total	1,750,178	100.0
10 years	142,105	8.1
11 years	158,778	9.1
12 years	221,313	12.6
13 years	268,427	15.3
14 years	406,701	23.2
15 years	552,854	31.6

The proportion these children bore to all children of the same ages is shown in the following table:

CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE

BOTH SEXES

<i>Age</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>In All Occupations</i>	
		<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Total	9,613,252	1,750,178	18.2
10 years	1,740,628	142,105	8.2
11 years	1,583,131	158,778	10.0
12 years	1,637,509	221,313	13.5
13 years	1,550,402	268,427	17.3
14 years	1,568,564	406,701	25.9
15 years	1,533,018	552,854	36.1

<i>Age</i>	MALES	<i>In All Occupations</i>	
		<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Total	4,852,427	1,264,411 26.1
10 years	882,052	105,580 12.0
11 years	798,193	119,628 15.0
12 years	828,008	163,649 19.8
13 years	781,448	196,830 25.2
14 years	793,340	289,655 36.5
15 years	769,386	389,069 50.6
FEMALES			
Total	4,760,825	487,767 10.2
10 years	858,576	36,525 4.3
11 years	784,938	39,150 5.0
12 years	809,501	57,664 7.1
13 years	768,954	71,597 9.3
14 years	775,224	117,046 15.1
15 years	763,632	163,785 21.4

Many of these were employed in occupations which gave ample time for the development of health, education, and moral idealism. But the report also showed thousands of children employed in coal mines and breakers; in glass factories at night; in poorly ventilated cotton, silk, and other textile mills; in the sweatshops of the great cities; in cigar and cigarette factories; in oyster, shrimp, and fruit canning establishments; in large mercantile houses; and in other industries which not only menace health but offer an effectual bar to education and moral development.

What is still more significant, the same report showed that during the twenty years preceding 1900, while the

population of the country had increased approximately 50 per cent, the number of working children had increased approximately 150 per cent. It further showed that the branches of the army of child workers had increased most rapidly in the kinds of employment that offer the least opportunity for physical and mental development, and give the least promise of training for industrial efficiency.

As to the present extent of child labor, we have no information. When the Census Bulletin on Child Labor (based on 1900 statistics) was issued, January 25, 1907, the Director of the Census said:

“With the growth of population there has probably been a considerable increase since 1900 in the number of children who are working for wages, except possibly in those communities where new laws, imposing greater restrictions upon the employment of young children, have been enacted and are being efficiently enforced; but it is unlikely that, aside from the increase in numbers, a census taken at the present time would show conditions differing materially from those existing at the date of the twelfth census.”

There are no complete census statistics since 1900. For thirteen years our country has been compelled to depend on these figures, which were very inadequate even when they were issued, and are of still less value at the present time.

To indicate the unsatisfactory nature of the 1900 report we may point to two concrete illustrations.

The census showed 783 newsboys and newspaper carriers between ten and fifteen years of age in twelve cities of the United States, no figures being given for any other cities. We know that in each of the large cities, like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston, there are several times this number; and thousands scattered through the smaller cities and villages of the country. The census may have been approximately correct in giving the number engaged extensively in this occupation, but nearly all newsboys and newspaper carriers are also in school, and therefore the census figure throws absolutely no light on the extent of child labor in this industry.

Furthermore, the report contained no mention of children under ten years of age, yet in New York to a great degree, and in other cities where tenement home work is done to a lesser degree, we know that hundreds of little children from five to ten years of age work several hours a day and often far into the night, manufacturing goods for commerce.

An investigation conducted by the National Child Labor Committee in New York City tenements in the winter of 1911 and 1912 showed the following children employed in four tenement industries among the comparatively few families studied:

NUTS: Forty-one families visited; 9 families have no children of working age; 32 families had 91 children between the ages of three and sixteen; of these 91 children, 77 were found at work.

BRUSHES: Forty-one families visited, containing 72 children. Out of these, 69 were working, between the ages of four and sixteen.

DOLL'S CLOTHES: Sixty-six families visited had 35 children from four to fourteen years of age; 35 children were found working.

FLOWERS: The extent to which child labor exists in this form of home work is impossible to discover. Our report showed that during the week December 8th-15th, 15 houses visited showed 15 children from seven to fourteen years of age working on artificial flowers. The following week, December 17th-28th, a survey of 33 families showed a list of 70 home-working children from four to fifteen years of age. A total of 70 children working on flowers during the Christmas vacation week in 33 families.

Yet these children do not appear in any Government report on child labor.

Within the past six months the New York State Factory Investigating Commission has been over the vegetable canneries of New York State and found 942 children under fourteen years of age, 141 of whom were under ten years, regularly at work. Along the South Atlantic and Gulf Coast, in oyster and shrimp canning factories, scores of little children labor all winter. The large employment of children in canneries is not a new development, but until recently it has been unknown to any statistical report.

III. EFFECTS

1. Child Labor and Health

The effects of child labor on health have been so fully discussed by scientific men in European countries, it would seem unnecessary to repeat the arguments in our new world. Nevertheless, there is a popular indifference to this which evidences our slowness to learn by the experience of others. However, statisticians everywhere are beginning to recognize certain jeopardies in industry, and a body of legislation is being created to regulate the conditions under which children shall be employed. Students in universities, hospitals, and elsewhere are seeking to work out schemes by which a larger share of the burden which now falls so heavily on our children shall be transferred to the state, or to the industry itself. Not only are children less intelligent, less cautious, less able to defend their rights, but their physical inferiority exposes them to dangers which do not threaten the adult. Reports from a few states indicate that the injuries to children under sixteen are in a ratio strikingly higher than to adults in the same industries. Percentages run from 150 to 300 higher for children. These statistical reports are meagre, and many sections of the country are entirely devoid of such information.

But there are less distressing effects on the health of childhood—a subtle invasion of the kingdom of physical health which is even more important. The total

crippled or killed among working children is, after all, a small percentage of the number employed. But how many are, by their early labor, incapacitated through life for bearing the burdens of normal adults; how many languish and linger in illness which develops long after the early cause and is rarely associated with it; and how many die at a premature age because the foundations of bodily vigor were secretly undermined? No one can say!

One of the most striking arraignments of modern industry as the exploiter of child labor is by Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, in his paper on "Some Ultimate Physical Effects of Premature Toil":

"It is well known that excessive exercise of certain muscles will result not in increase of strength, but in degeneration and weakening. . . . Apply these statements in practice; to the case of a girl feeding material to a machine and sitting in one position for hours at a time; to the case of a boy handling small articles of manufacture, having perhaps nothing more to do than to remove them from one machine to another close by, or to perform, in the standing position, a set of movements with rapidity, but involving no test of strength. Such work commonly develops quickness of eye and dexterity of fingers. It is certainly not looked upon as involving physical strain of any account. . . . As a matter of fact, standing and sitting are possible only by active muscular work, and when prolonged have connected with them the disadvantages of permitting but

little change of activity to other muscles. . . . Under these circumstances the tissues yield under unrelieved strain; that the leg and trunk muscles become excessively fatigued and thus compel the assumption, for relief, of faulty postures and attitudes which can at first be voluntarily departed from, but which finally take the place of the normal and leave the child more or less permanently deformed. . . . Standing occupations involve the feet and legs in greatest strain, and more especially the feet. In consequence we see developing, during the adolescent years, that condition known as weak and flat foot. . . . Lateral curvature is frequently seen in girls who have been engaged in sitting occupations during the development period. . . . Such severe degree of lateral curvature adds greatly to the likelihood of developing pulmonary consumption. . . . The remoter effect of the deformity upon the pelvis of the girl I need only mention to the extent of saying that this has always been recognized by medical men as of potentially serious influence upon the maternal function."

The physical effects of child labor are further shown in the following comments of prominent physicians and investigators:

Sir Thomas Oliver says, in "Dangerous Trades":

"The characteristic of the factory child is dulness, . . . because in the mill growth and development are arrested."

Mrs. Harriet M. Van der Vaart, Secretary Illinois Child Labor Committee, says:

"One manufacturer admitted to me that the boys in the glass industry generally were smaller and not as well developed as the boys who had lived a normal life outside. He said he thought this did not argue that they were not as well."

The effects on the nervous system of the child are strikingly shown by Dr. Henry Baird Favill, in a discussion of child labor on the stage:

"Let us grant, for the sake of extreme fairness, that teaching a child dexterity, industry, and responsibility has a value. Can any honest mind doubt that these alleged advantages are more than offset by teaching it the dexterity of an automaton, the industry of a driven slave, and the responsibility of a premature burden-bearer?"

"To any extent to which it affects children in a stimulating way at all, it does so through the medium of highly strung nervous unnatural appetites and aspirations, false standards, and faulty methods which are calculated to ruin the nervous balance, mental poise, and moral unfolding of the average child. . . . This does not at all imply a viciousness or any undesirable moral quality. It is a mere matter of psychology. . . . From a scientific or a common observation standpoint, conditions which tend to over-stimulate, over-fatigue, and generally unstabilize the nervous system of chil-

dren are destructive, and for the most part, if continued too long, beyond correction."

These opinions might be multiplied, but we add only a word from Dr. Edward N. Clopper, author of "Child Labor in City Streets," regarding the effects of street trading on the health of children:

"The irregularity of newsboys' meals, and the questionable character of their food, form one of the worst features of street work, and are a real menace to health. . . . The use of stimulants is common and the demand for them is to be expected because of the nervous strain of the work. . . . Work at unseasonable hours is more disastrous in its effects upon growing children, and the newspaper trade is one that engages the labor of boys in our larger cities at all hours of the night. . . . The early rising of the newsboys to deliver the morning week-day editions also contributes to the breaking down of their health."

2. Child Labor and Education

That child labor is the enemy of education is obvious. Where the community is deeply interested in the intellectual development of its children, they are not turned over to industry to have their ignorance and helplessness exploited for the profits of private enterprise.

On the other hand, a keen demand for the labor of little children naturally blunts interest in their education, and child labor goes hand in hand with illiteracy and poorly equipped, uninviting school houses. The

late Dr. Draper, when Commissioner of Education in New York State, said:

"In America . . . there are more people who cannot read or write in any language than there are in any other constitutional country in the world. In Chicago or New York there is a much larger percentage of people ten years old or more who can neither read nor write than there is in London, or Paris, or Berlin, or Zurich, or Copenhagen, or even Tokio. . . . There is a larger percentage of illiterate children of native-born than of foreign-born parents in the state of New York. This statement is also true of Illinois. There is often a larger percentage of illiteracy in the country than in the cities."

This army of illiterates is not evenly distributed, and the effect of a single industry on education is made graphic by the following table:

<i>Illiterates 10-14 years old in 10 states, U. S. Census for 1900</i>		<i>Illiterates among 1,360 children under 14 years old employed in cotton mills in same states, 1907-08</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	
Maine	752	1.4	4
New Hampshire ..	187	.7	0
Massachusetts	457	.2	1
Rhode Island	186	.6	1
Virginia	12,229	9.1	38
North Carolina ...	25,437	16.6	176
South Carolina	9,986	14.8	233
Georgia	14,911	10.4	88
Alabama	18,769	15.3	95
Mississippi	6,131	7.8	51
			44.

This comparison of 10.4 per cent illiterates in Georgia with 42.7 per cent in her cotton mills; 91 per cent illiterates in Virginia against 70.4 in her cotton mills, with similar disparity in other states, is a standing reply to those defenders of child labor who boast that the cotton mill is the great educator of the American child.

Even those industries which call for the labor of children for brief seasons—the fruit, vegetable and seafood canneries—manifest this same enmity to education. An investigator of New York and other Northern canneries recently said:

“Canneries depend for their labor almost exclusively on women and children. In New York State as well as in New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, there is a yearly exodus from the large cities of Italian and Polish families who seek this work for the summer months. . . . These families frequently do not return to their winter homes until long after the beginning of the school year, in some cases continuing to work at late crops until Christmas. . . . The local schools assume no responsibility for them, and when they return to the city they have fallen far behind their regular classes. . . . They do not catch up with their classes before they are again carried off to the canneries early in June.”

3. Child Labor and Morals

The effect of certain forms of child labor on public morals is what might be anticipated from any system

which permits the strong to exploit the weak while it saps the physical vitality of the weak and denies to children the normal opportunity to develop intelligence and idealism.

The effect upon employers is strikingly indicated by the recent federal investigation which showed, for example, that in Georgia 64.5 per cent of the cotton mills were violating the child labor law; in Alabama 61.5 per cent, in South Carolina 91.7, in North Carolina 74.6 per cent, and in Virginia 50 per cent. Upon the child the effect is not less disastrous. The early development of semi-independence; the breaking down of the normal bonds of family life; emphasis upon making a living instead of learning to live; promiscuous mingling on the streets and in industrial plants at a time when youth should be protected from certain social temptations, all tend to break down the power of moral resistance.

In the recent investigation conducted by the National Child Labor Committee leading to the enactment of laws forbidding employment of minors in the night messenger service, two definite charges were laid against that form of employment in addition to its injurious effect upon health.

The first complaint was that so far as the work itself is concerned it teaches nothing. Instead of being an avenue to higher industrial opportunities, the night messenger service is a blind alley which leaves the boy at the end of one or five years as undeveloped as when

he began,—having in the meantime absorbed his years and sapped his energy.

Our second complaint was that the service not only unfits him for other industries, but it blunts his sensibilities, shatters his ideals and tends to render attractive to him a scheme of life whereby an easy, but dishonorable, living is made upon the earnings of unfortunate women.

The records of many juvenile courts, detention homes and reformatories show that the street trades offer a direct avenue to the need for social control. In every instance where records have been taken a higher percentage of children engaged as delivery boys, newsboys, errand boys and street vendors were found than their proportion of the population warranted. It was furthermore found that these street trades caused delinquency in spite of good home conditions, at least so far as the presence of both parents contributes to the making of a good home.

4. Child Labor and Wages

The tendency in competitive industry to reduce wages is so direct that in the industries where children can be employed to advantage as e. g., in cotton textile mills, the effect on the wages of adults is to reduce them far below a standard of wages for adults in other industries. It is not true, as has often been claimed, that the wages of little children are pitifully small. On the other hand, some industries show comparatively high

wages to children; abnormally high when placed beside the wages of adults in the same industry.

In a representative South Carolina cotton mill, as was shown in a recent report of the Federal Bureau of Labor, wages of children from 12 to 14 years ranged from \$3.54 per week to \$5.04 per week. But let us hasten to say that the same report shows that doffers of 20 years and over were paid \$2.52 per week, while in 151 Southern mills investigated, spinners were found earning \$5.54 a week, and scrubbers and sweepers \$2.96 a week. Out of 32,409 workers in cotton mills whose actual wages per week were copied from the pay rolls, only 1,444 earned from \$8 to \$9 a week, and one of these was a boy and one a girl under 12 years of age. When we come to the \$12 limit, only 54 women out of 17,077 earned from \$11 to \$12, and one of these was a girl under 16 years of age, while 241 men out of 14,000 reached that wage and one of these was a boy under 16.

These statistics might be multiplied, but the striking fact may be summarized by saying that of 32,409 cotton mill operatives investigated, 17,517 (more than half the number), earned less than \$5 a week; only 7,825 of these were children under 16 years of age, nearly 10,000 were men and women above 16.

Those who believe in the conservation of childhood and the protection of our present generation of school children from the allurements of modern industry until those children are old enough to choose a life occupation with intelligence, may safely challenge any indus-

try which bids for child labor to show its pay rolls and reveal its industrial conditions. For such a challenge will force the revelation that the industries in which child labor is a prominent factor are the industries in which the lowest wages, longest hours and least humane conditions exist.

5. Child Labor and Efficiency

It has been contended that the early employment of a child is necessary to teach him habits of industry and the dexterity needed in many trades for efficiency. It was contended in this country some years ago that a child could not learn to be a skilled glass blower unless he could enter the factory at 10 years of age. When laws were passed raising the age limit to 12 years and attempts were made to push it still further to 14, the contention was made that they could not learn the industry unless they could begin at 12 years. Today when all the glass manufacturing states except West Virginia and Pennsylvania have abolished child labor at night under 16 years, the legislatures of those two states are hearing the same argument presented in another form, viz., that these boys can not learn to be glass blowers unless they are permitted to work at night at 14 years of age.

Thus modern intelligence and enlightened public conscience are pushing the tide farther back and we shall at last recognize that no industry which requires the work of the human hand directed by human intel-



Photograph from The National Child Labor Committee

A GROUP OF BREAKER BOYS WORKING IN A PENNSYLVANIA
COAL MINE

ligence can be so well done unless workmen are given an opportunity to prepare themselves through normal childhood for its exactions. In fact, those employers who are most successful and farsighted recognize that child labor is an economic blunder. That it not only injures the child, but is a definite and heavy burden upon industry. One of the most extensive manufacturers in New England recently stated in a public address that his firm had abolished child labor under 16 years. He said this step had been taken as a matter of sentiment three years before because they believed the children should have an opportunity to play and grow and go to school. "But," he continued, "our Board of Directors have recently adopted as a matter of business what we instituted from sentiment. We find that the 16-year-old boy costs a little more in wages than the child, but he does a little more work, and does it better. He breaks less machinery and spoils less material. He requires less supervision and is two years nearer being an intelligent workman. We, therefore, consider him a better business bargain." Then turning to other employers, he said: "I venture to suggest that if you will adopt the principle we have now deliberately chosen, you will soon find that you are having the fun of working on the side of the angels without it costing you anything."

In this connection the words of Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago, in "The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets," are significant:

“The startling results of the investigation undertaken in Massachusetts by the Douglas Commission showed how casual and demoralizing the first few years of factory life become to thousands of unprepared boys and girls; in their first restlessness and maladjustment they change from one factory to another, working only for a few weeks or months in each, and they exhibit no interest in any of them save for the amount of wages paid. At the end of the second year of employment many of them are less capable than when they left school and are actually receiving less wages. The report of the commission made clear that while the two years between fourteen and sixteen were most valuable for educational purposes, they were almost useless for industrial purposes, that no trade would receive as an apprentice a boy under sixteen, that no industry requiring skill and workmanship could utilize these untrained children and that they not only demoralized themselves, but in a sense industry itself.”

This echoes the declaration of Lord Macaulay, who declared when a child labor bill was pending before the British Parliament in 1846: “Intense labor, beginning too early in life, continued too long every day, stunting the growth of the mind, leaving no time for healthful exercise, no time for intellectual culture, must impair all those high qualities that have made our country great. Your overworked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble progeny; nor will it be long before the deterioration of

the laborer will injuriously affect those very interests to which his physical and moral interests have been sacrificed. If ever we are forced to yield the foremost place among commercial nations, we shall yield it to some people pre-eminently vigorous in body and mind."

IV. HOW CAN CHILD LABOR BE ABOLISHED

The abolition of child labor can not come through general and indefinite protests, the problem must be thoroughly understood by educators, and by industrial, social, professional and religious leaders who must also learn to formulate constructive programs to meet local situations.

1. Investigation

The first essential is investigation. It was recognized by the National Child Labor Committee when it was organized nine years ago that nothing important could be accomplished unless the actual conditions in which children labor could be seen and understood. The Committee therefore organized a staff of investigators who have continued to the present time a constant field study, interviewing manufacturers, merchants, and other employers, seeing the children at work, investigating home conditions, filling out schedules of family budgets and family earnings, interviewing school and health officials to determine what educational and sanitary opportunities the communities afford and otherwise keeping the office of the Committee supplied with a continual stream of first-hand up-to-date information.

The busy citizen should not be offended by being told that he knows practically nothing about the industrial conditions in his own city. Our social life is too complicated and our industrial and other obligations too exacting to permit an intimate knowledge of affairs outside our own observation and experience. It is possible, however, for every woman interested in the child welfare of her community to know whether the children of school age are in school and if not to know where they are and what they are doing. She can not do this individually, but by co-operation with others, facts readily overlooked by the general community will be brought to light. Specific examples of how this has been done are shown in our closing paragraphs.

In instances where industrial conditions are complicated or where children work in factories not easily accessible to the general public, it is important that those interested should engage reliable investigators to study the field thoroughly and make a systematic report. This places the community in a position to deal intelligently and aggressively with aggravated cases or to defend itself against unwarranted criticism. The National Child Labor Committee always welcomes invitations to co-operate in such investigations, and to the limit of its resources is prepared to furnish trained investigators for this work.

2. Publicity

The second step in programs for improvement is publicity. It is not enough that a few leaders in the

community should know the facts or should meet in community gatherings to complain against conditions and wish for their improvement. Every social reform of the present day is based on the fundamental principle that the conscience of the community is right when once awakened. If this assumption is sound we are safe to lay before the general public the facts discovered and rely on them to remove the abuses when they are understood. The public press, the pulpit, the school rostrum, the woman's club, the trade union meeting, the employers' association are all channels through which the facts may be brought to public notice.

The editor of a prominent magazine recently said :

“Publicity in reform is merely the application of modern business methods to reform work. We who are interested in reform take steps to interest the newspapers and magazines in our pet theories, and if our reform is a good thing the people of the country will stand by and back us up.”

3. Legislation

The record of legislative enactments to protect working children is stimulating. Since the formation of the National Child Labor Committee seven states have passed their first child labor law: Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Mississippi, Nevada, Oklahoma and the District of Columbia. Nine states and the District of Columbia have fixed the 14 year limit as the minimum for child employment, either for all gainful oc-

cupations or for specified lists. These states are: Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and South Dakota. California has forbidden child labor under 15 years, with certain exemptions, and Texas forbids such employment around dangerous machinery. Nineteen states have established the eight-hour-day for all children under 16: Arizona, California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New York (in factories), North Dakota, Oklahoma, Ohio, Washington (for girls), Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia.

Night work for all children under 16 years has been made illegal in twenty-six states: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, Washington (in bakeries), and the District of Columbia.

The employment of boys under 21 years in the night messenger service has been forbidden in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey (18 outside of first-class cities), Wisconsin, Utah, Rhode Island, Arizona; while ten states have made 18 years the minimum limit for such employment.

Documentary proof of the age of children seeking

employment certificates has been required in eleven states: California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. The law requiring this evidence has been greatly strengthened in Illinois, Massachusetts, Ohio, and New York; while a large number of other States require such documentary proof, but permit the use of an affidavit if this proof is not obtainable. Connecticut requires no proof of age of working children, but the educational qualifications are strictly enforced.

Let the reader not be deceived by these encouraging records, however, for there are still ten states in which children under 14 years of age may be employed in factories; fourteen states allow children under 16 years to work at night; five states have no inspectors to enforce the child labor law, and there is no state in which the appropriation for enforcement and inspection is large enough for the purpose. As pointed out at one of the child labor conferences, one of the Southern states spends more money on labels to mark its oyster cans than on inspection for the entire working force of the state. There is no state or city in which street trades are forbidden to all children under 14. A number of states and of the larger cities have laws regulating street trades, but in most instances these laws are very poorly enforced, if at all. The employment of children in agricultural pursuits has scarcely been touched, although every investigation we have made of child

labor in rural communities adds to the evidence that in the aggregate thousands of children in this country are being denied normal educational opportunities because of the exactions of farm life. This is particularly true in the kinds of agricultural work which require people to congregate in groups and live in temporary quarters such as are found in berry picking fields, cranberry bogs, and in the vicinity of fruit and vegetable canneries. This latter occupation is exempted from the operation of child labor laws in every state where canning is a prominent industry except New York.

An analysis of the child labor laws of our forty-eight states is baffling and not only confuses those seeking to improve these conditions, but is believed to work an injustice upon employers legally permitting conditions in one state which are illegal in an adjoining state. To meet this difficulty as well as to standardize the whole subject of child employment, the National Child Labor Committee three years ago drafted a bill known as the "Uniform Child Labor Law," which was discussed and adopted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and last year was unanimously endorsed by the American Bar Association. The provisions of this law, briefly summarized, are as follows:

Age Limit.— 14 years for boys, 18 years for girls, to distribute, sell or expose for sale, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, or any other articles, or to work as a bootblack, or in any other occupation performed in any street or public place, or in the distribution of handbills or circulars or any other articles.

14 years in mill, factory, workshop, mercantile or mechanical establishment, tenement-house, store, office, office building, restaurant, boarding-house, bakery, barber shop, hotel, apartment house, bootblack stand or establishment, public stable, garage, laundry, place of amusement, club or as a driver or in any brick or lumber yard, or in the construction or repair of buildings, or in the distribution or delivery of merchandise, or in the transmission or delivery of messages.

14 years for all children in any business or service whatever during school hours.

16 years in certain specified occupations.

18 years in certain other specified more dangerous occupations.

21 in any saloon or bar room where intoxicating liquors are sold.

21 (females) in any capacity where employment compels constant standing.

Employment Certificates. — No child under 16 years of age is to be employed without certificate issued by school authorities upon receipt of:

(1) Written promise of a person, firm or corporation legally to employ the child and to return employment certificate within two days after termination of such employment.

(2) School record of child.

(3) Certificate from a physician that such child has reached the normal development of his age and is in sufficiently sound health to be employed in the occupation he expects to enter.

(4) Documentary proof of age (specified) other than parents' affidavit.

In street trades, boys under 16 must have badge issued by school authorities upon same proofs of age and physical fitness that are required for employment certificate.

Education. — A child must have attended school for not less than 130 days during the 12 months previous to arriving at the age of 14 years; must be able to read intelligently and write legibly simple sentences in the English language; and must have completed a course of study equivalent to five yearly school grades.

Hours of Labor. — For boys under 16 and girls under 18, 8 hours a day, and 6 days a week. They may not work between the hours of 6 p. m. and 7 a. m.

For boys under 18 and girls under 21, 10 hours a day and 6 days a week, and 54 hours a week. Must not work between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m.

In cities, no person under the age of 21 years to work as a messenger for telegraph, telephone or messenger companies in the distribution or transmission or delivery of goods or messages before 5 a. m. or after 10 p. m.

Boys under 16, working at street occupations with badge, may not work after 8 p. m. or before 6 a. m., nor during school hours unless five yearly school grades have been completed.

The Uniform Child Labor Law also provides for filing of children's certificates by employers and conspicuous posting of complete list of children employed. It makes it the duty of the officials charged with enforcement of the law to inspect the lists and certificates as well as premises of the place of employment, to make complaints against any person violating any of the provisions of the act and to prosecute the same.

The Uniform Law makes no exemptions for poverty nor for special occupations.

(The foregoing is merely a summary of the Uniform Child Labor Law. For the exact wording and annotations showing the states in which the various sections are already in operation, refer to the National Child Labor Committee's Quarterly Bulletin, Volume I, No. 2.)

In securing further legislation for the protection of working children the co-operation of all local agencies with the National Child Labor Committee is essential. It is impossible for a national organization to be familiar with local conditions and local prejudices, to know the friends and influential advisors of legislators and otherwise to be familiar with points of local advantage. On

the other hand it is important for local organizations interested in better legislation to have the advantage of those familiar with the drafting of laws and with the problem of getting them properly introduced and handled through the various stages of the legislative process. The National Child Labor Committee offers itself as a clearing house of advice, information, legislative and investigation work to all state and local organizations requiring such service.

4. Law Enforcement

The American people are easily awakened to the importance of securing good laws, but the problem of law enforcement, although more difficult, makes far less appeal to the popular mind. Without any desire to reflect discredit on the faithful men and women who act as factory inspectors in many of our states, it may almost be said that the efficient and complete enforcement of child labor laws does not exist in any state of this Union. Failure at this point may be due to one cause or a combination of many. Many state legislators satisfy the public clamor for protection of working children by passing radical laws, and then make these laws of no effect by refusing a sufficient appropriation to equip a department of factory inspection. Sometimes factory inspectors or their deputies are chosen on the basis of political regularity rather than because of any special equipment for this highly technical form of public service. But even assuming that

well-equipped inspection departments are faithfully and adequately manned, the enforcement of the law can not be secured without reliance on the courts. Everyone familiar with the record of child labor prosecutions is aware that the courts in many of our states do not regard the violation of this law as a serious offense. Instances are of almost daily occurrence in which illegal employers of little children are dismissed by the court with a minimum fine and an apology. In many instances the factory inspector or other officer bringing the offender into court is rebuked by the judge for so doing. Criticism of our courts is a popular pastime in these days, but it is well for all to recognize that our courts are very largely a reflection of public sentiment. When the public comes to feel that it is no more a crime against the community to beat a horse on the street or set fire to a neighbor's house than to drive a little child to excessive tasks and burn the freshness and bloom from its life, we shall then find our courts convicting offenders according to the penalties prescribed in the law.

5. Organization and Coöperation

In all that pertains to the proper protection of working children, the importance of organization and the co-operation of individuals and associations is obvious. Since the organization of the National Child Labor Committee state committees have been formed in twenty-seven states and local committees in many of the

large cities. The Committee furthermore is directly affiliated with civic departments of woman's clubs, civic leagues of churches, settlements, and charitable organizations, and coöperates with state departments of factory inspection, health and education.

Constructive work in conducting local investigations with a view to arousing the general public, educating public officials and securing the enactment and enforcement of better laws has been conducted in a number of cities. Perhaps the plan recently adopted in the city of Washington and that pursued by a woman's club in a suburb of one of our large cities will serve as typical examples of what may be done by such organizations in many cities.

The plan carried out by the Children's Council of Washington, D. C., is outlined in their prospectus as follows:

In view of the fact that more than half of the 953 children 14 and 15 years old who dropped out of school last year left to go to work, and of this number only one-fourth obtained working certificates, and about 100 more left without good reasons, a permanent juvenile advisory committee has been formed, which is made up as follows:

- A member of the Child Labor Committee,
- A representative from the Consumers' League,
- Representatives from white and colored settlements,
- Representative from Hebrew societies,
- Representative from Associated Charities,
- Representative from Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., both white and colored,
- One representative each from both white and colored schools,

One probation officer of the juvenile court, named by the judge of the court,

Representative of Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

The purpose of the committee is to study the conditions of children who are dropping out of school between 14 and 16 years of age and try to meet their needs.

The Committee has met the superintendent of schools and feels sure that steps will be taken to have all children who leave school reported promptly to the Child Labor Office. With this information as a basis, it is suggested that:

1. An accurate record be kept at the Child Labor Office, giving as complete information as possible concerning each child.
2. The secretary consult the registration department of the Associated Charities and report all children leaving school to organizations and settlements found through the registration department to be already interested in the children.
3. To make this work more effective, the settlements and organizations working with children in clubs and classes are asked to register children between 14 and 16 years of age in their classes in the registration bureau.
4. Further activities of the committee should be:
 - (a) To keep up public sentiment for continuation of schools and to keep in touch with those schools already established.
 - (b) To find out what available opportunities for social employment or industrial training there are for children between 14 and 16 in the city.
 - (c) To investigate the blind alley occupations.
 - (d) As far as possible to obtain efficient visitors to take up the cases of individual children, such visitors to consult with teachers and the parents and make the best possible arrangement for the children under the direction of the committee.

The record of work done in the small suburban city referred to brings out numerous possibilities of similar useful work. The group engaging in this employed an

investigator to study factories and mercantile conditions while the president of the committee attempted to gather facts in regard to working children. The investigation brought out the following results:

(1) From the Superintendent of Schools, a list was asked of all children under sixteen, discharged from the public schools since September 1, to go to work. He could not supply it, but agreed to compile it within two weeks.

(2) A list of working papers issued by the Health Officer was obtained. This disclosed the fact that only nine working papers had been issued since the preceding December,—the date of inquiry being May 8th. Also that he had issued working papers to two children under fourteen and had so recorded.

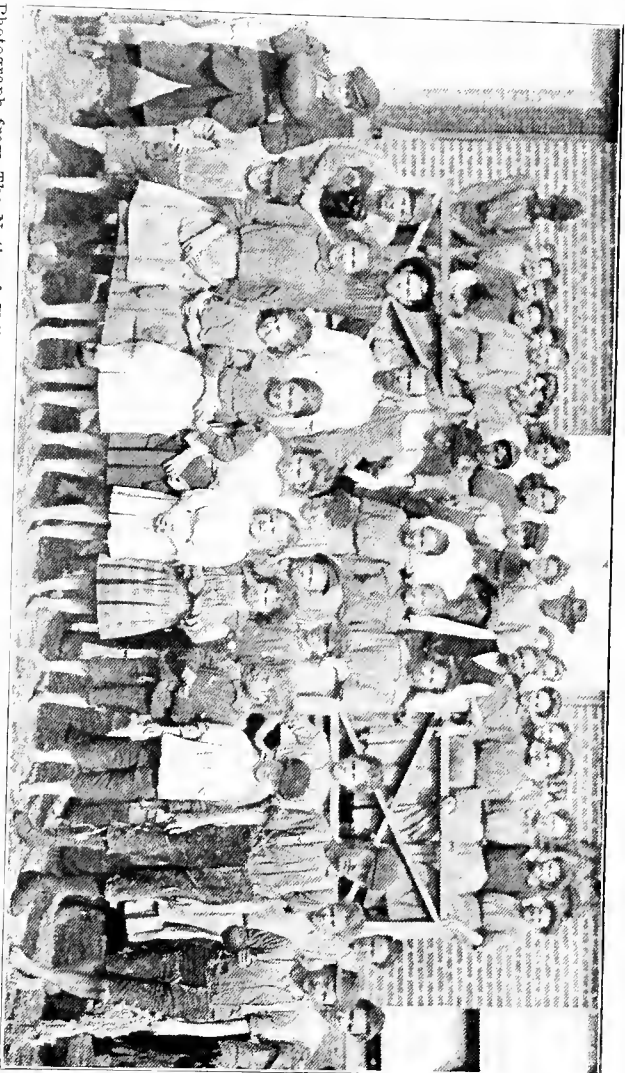
(3) A comparison of the state school census with the number of children enrolled revealed that there were about 500 more children actually enrolled in the public, parochial and private schools than the census called for, this being due to an inadequate system of enrollment by the school census takers.

The lack of records found in the office of the superintendent of schools, the lack of census figures as a basis for the enforcement of the compulsory education law and the carelessness of the proper official in issuing working papers showed the necessity for some personal interviews.

The first was a talk with the truant officer, at which an attempt was made to find out his methods of work.

It was learned that he investigated cases, reported by teachers, of the continued absence of enrolled children, and had a sort of haphazard watching for children "around." This officer wisely remarked that in a town of this size, he "couldn't do much about children who didn't enroll, as he didn't know the children anyway and didn't know how many there were." Asked if a census which located the children would help, he said "yes."

An interview with the superintendent of schools disclosed the fact that he was completely at sea in regard to the laws governing the issuance of working papers; that he never kept a record of certificates issued; that he did not know whether his principals were careful in regard to them; that he paid no attention to children who graduated from grammar school, whether under or over fourteen, as to employment; that his attention had been called in April to this laxness, by the state school inspector, and to the necessity for keeping records; that in spite of or because of this recent talk with the inspector, he thought a new law had been passed whereby the superintendent of schools was vested with authority to issue working papers; that he did not know of any law requiring papers for children except in a factory. This state of affairs was largely due to the multiplicity of his direct school duties and the fact that public opinion had not demanded the local enforcement of this law. He was furnished with the schedule of existing laws and his attention called to the law govern-



Photograph from The National Child Labor Committee
CHILD WORKERS OF A SOUTHERN COTTON-MILL.

ing mercantile and other employment and to the fact that his educational certificate was only a means to obtain the working papers from the health officer. A few days later the superintendent mailed the following letter:

"I find that since September 1st thirty-nine pupils have left the High School and twenty-six the Commercial School to go to work. As these pupils had all graduated from the grammar schools, I have taken no record of their ages.

"The following table will show the ages of those leaving the lower schools for the purpose of working:

<i>No.</i>	<i>18 years 17</i>		<i>16</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	0	1	4	7	6	4	22
2	0	1	0	0	3	0	4
3	0	1	1	4	4	0	10
4	0	3	2	1	3	0	9
5	0	0	2	5	21	4	32
7	0	0	3	6	2	0	11
8	1	0	1	7	7	4	20
9	0	0	1	1	3	0	5
<hr/>							
Total	1	6	14	31	49	12	113

"I have a record at my office of eight who have been given working papers; I do not know how many were issued by the Health Officer.

"In the case of the children who are reported as thirteen, I understand they were almost, but not quite, fourteen years of age."

The committee again interviewed the superintendent, and from the principals' records learned the following facts:

In the two schools where grade as well as age was given; five children under fourteen, above fifth grade; two children under fourteen, lacking educational requirements, and four children between sixteen and fourteen, lacking educational requirements, were discharged to go to work.

Interviews with the principals of schools showed as reasons for the illegal discharge of pupils, ignorance that a child could be kept in school over fourteen, however low his grade; difficulty in interesting and teaching children of a low order of mentality without industrial training in the school; pity for the poverty of family, allowing the child to become a breadwinner.

The information obtained was laid before the president of the Board of Education. He was unaware of the conditions, but was greatly interested, and promised to see the desired records kept and the law enforced another year.

Blanks sent to each principal, with a request that spaces be filled out, met a cordial response. Offers to coöperate and requests for copies of Child Labor Laws were received. From the blanks in two schools returned before June 25th, giving fuller information, facts were obtained concerning the illegal employment of forty-six children.

Several merchants revealed the fact that they did not know of any law governing the employment of children in mercantile and other establishments aside from fac-

tories. This law was also unknown to the superintendent and principals of schools, and the president of the board of health.

The fact that the health officer was issuing illegal working papers, probably through ignorance, and that the law governing mercantile establishments was not being enforced, was laid before the president of the Board of Health, only to find him entirely ignorant concerning the Child Labor Law, which his board was charged with enforcing. He, however, promised to carefully look up these laws during the summer and see what could be done in regard to enforcement in the fall.

By information from school authorities and others, and personal work done with a group of street boys last winter, details of the following cases were obtained, each having one or more illegal features.

"(1) ———, a big boy, aged fifteen, finished third year first. Speaks English imperfectly, cannot read or write English, desired to be placed in a night school, as he could 'make more money if he could number, and not be cheat so great.' Much disappointed when no night school was opened. Face lighted up at the prospect and fell into stupidity when disappointed. Went to work as water boy—now selling papers. Says he makes little, if any, more now than when he sold papers only out of school hours."

"(2) ———, age thirteen, third grade. Said to have gone to work, but not returned by truant officer. Failed to locate him."

"(3) ———, age fourteen, third grade. Working papers issued on school certificate, which stated this fact. Working in factory."

"(4) ———, age fifteen, third grade. School certificate issued stating this fact and showing a lack of thirty-nine days of

necessary time in school during past year. Issued on the 'vehement demand of parents'—said principal of school. Health officer sent boy back for the thirty-nine days, then issued papers. Working in factory."

"(5) ———, age fourteen, fifth grade. Discharged to drive father's bakery wagon, as older brother was sick. City ordinance forbids any person under sixteen driving a vehicle of any kind in the streets."

"(6) ———, age thirteen, low grade. Principal stated he had issued no school certificate. Truant officer said, 'Now, she must have slipped through. We let her stay home to help and we forgot her. Father had asthma, mother had to wash.'"

"(7) ———, thirteen years, sixth grade. Typical 'bad boy.' In juvenile court several times, usually for mischief; on probation twice; always leader of a gang. Bright, attractive, full of vitality. On street for some time. Finally discharged and now working in tea store. Principal said he 'always liked Paul. Splendid at figures, but a failure in history and geography. If he had only some place where he could have taught him to use his hands, he could have made him an efficient citizen in a short time, but couldn't do anything with him. He wouldn't come to school.'"

"(8) ———, age twelve, third grade. Dismissed because school doctor found tuberculosis of jaw. Fear of infection. Reported as working in grocery or bakery. Now working as errand boy in plumber's office. Mother working; father dead."

"(9) ———, age thirteen, grade unknown, 'bad boy.' Expelled because he could not be interested. Granted working papers. Working in factory with father. Health officer's record and working papers state age thirteen."

During this investigation, ignorance of the laws was found among school authorities, board of health and health officer, employer and employee, but willingness to enforce the law on the part of authorities, when

pushed by public opinion. Copies of child labor laws were distributed to the officials.

The committee secured a promise from the Superintendent of Schools to discharge no more school children without working papers, and to furnish a monthly record of children leaving school under 16, with age, grade, address, and where employed. The newspapers were enlisted in the campaign and thus the general public awakened.

Among the specific accomplishments from this volunteer activity may be recorded the following:

- (1) A general stirring up as to responsibility.
- (2) Attention of public officials to the laws.
- (3) Attention of president of board of health and president of board of education to conditions.
- (4) Promises of better enforcement in the future.
- (5) Knowledge of conditions by the committee.
- (6) An interest in the methods of school census taking, which may develop a plan to secure greater efficiency.

The committee also recorded the following needs developing from their experience:

- (1) A concise synopsis of the laws governing the work of women and children in towns to be printed for distribution.
- (2) A committee to watch the school reports and compare them with the health officer's list of working papers.
- (3) A committee to investigate cases in families

where an attempt is being made to fasten burden of support on a child, and report such cases to proper agencies for relief, thus relieving the child.

(4) A committee to investigate conditions in stores, offices, laundries, hotels, theatres, and bowling alleys, with power to employ an experienced investigator.

(5) A committee to take up cases of children discovered as illegally working—those who remain of illegal age in October, or who lack educational requirements.

(Groups of women in any city desiring to take up this practical side of a problem which, though national in its extent, is always of a local nature, are invited to correspond and affiliate with the NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE, 105 East Twenty-Second St., New York.)

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART II

1. *Who are responsible for Child Labor in America? Why do they want it?*
2. *Why do some employers oppose it?*
3. *What is the extent of Child Labor? How and where most employed? Is it increasing?*
4. *What is the effect of Child Labor on health? Cite opinion of Dr. Alexander H. Freiberg. Of Dr. Favill.*
5. *What is its effect on Education? In what states is illiteracy greatest?*
6. *Does Child Labor affect the morality of children? What was the result of the investigation of the National Child Labor Committee on night work of messenger boys?*
7. *Does the competition of Child Labor reduce wages of adults? Does it increase the efficiency of children?*
8. *How can Child Labor be abolished? What is the first essential? The second essential?*
9. *What states have passed Child Labor Laws? Where is night work forbidden?*
10. *In what states can children under 14 still be employed? What is the law of your state? Is it enforced?*

11. *What are the principal provisions of the proposed "Uniform Child Labor Law?"*

12. *Who is responsible for the enforcement of our present laws? If derelict—in what way?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. *The Child Labor Laws of your state.*

2. *Investigate conditions in stores, shops and factories in your vicinity.*

3. *If children are employed, look up parents and find out if really necessary.*

4. *Educational advantages if any of children who are breadwinners.*

5. *Leaflets and reports issued by the National Child Labor Committee, 105 East Twenty-Second St., New York.*

PART III

Juvenile Protection

THE OBLIGATION OF THE CITY TO ITS YOUTH

By ALLAN HOBEN

THE tendency of the city is to accelerate development. It gathers the world into a heap and throws it upon the child. Thus an impossible number of adjustments is demanded in very brief space. Civilization is largely unnatural; it is heedless of the evolution by which man has reached his present state. Moreover those who are asked to fit themselves into this artificial situation are already in a whirl of sensation due to bodily changes and mental instability. Youth does not need to be ravaged with the glitter, noise and flash of delirious city life. It needs rather some grateful silence so that the many voices within may blend into a harmonious self, imbued with consciousness of meaning and purpose. The city usually makes against self-discovery because its candidates are distracted by shallow and fickle activities.

Allowing that the moodiness and introspection of youth may become morbid and may hobble ability, it remains very evident that the typical city child is not

suffering from an overdose of its own company. Life is handed to it ready-made and regardless of fit and there is little chance to work out the inner side of one's destiny. This is true of city children in all conditions. The rich have too much done for them and are robbed of the necessity of exercising that initiative and effort which produce real fiber, while the poor are sent early to meaningless labor which with few exceptions is as shallow and as disastrous as the coddling of the wealthy. For both of these classes too much is decreed, and only by uncommon ability may anyone escape into the freedom of self-government.

The middle class is more fortunate. Here personality is more respected. But whereas the immediate family and economic control may be more elastic, the city herself—the common home of all—plays upon young life at every angle. Be it in the matter of dress, amusements, speech, morality or religion the city never lets go. How many conscientious homes feel the conflict! That which they would hold sacred in the mind of youth is today vulgarized in the cheap show and tomorrow is the common parlance and favorite song of the young. Domestic infidelity and all forms of vice caught up by the irresponsible public press and capitalized into headlines go forth with rapid-fire editions, every bullet poisoned by baneful suggestion.

How industriously and with what a palaver about freedom does a large portion of the press empty our social sewage into the stream above the intake of

youths' supply of ideals! The meanness of retailing scandal to the whole community is only equaled by the cruelty of publishing the names and addresses of boys and girls who are brought into court. The "story," with its embellishment of photographs and nasty detail, is the false laurel of reporting and editing ability and the lasting crown of shame to the unfortunate and erring. Many who might otherwise have won their battles are thus forever stigmatized and outlawed. How valiant and noble is this enterprise of assaulting the helpless and trampling those who are down!

In the great city this process which makes the individual home, the citadel of life, relatively helpless goes on more rapidly than elsewhere, both because there are more young people to be infected and because they are probably more suggestible through constant nervous stimulation than are the children of the open country. It is a greater crime to smite youth with cynicism than to inflict such bodily injury as is punishable by fine and imprisonment. And this the modern city tends to do through child labor, cheap shows, extravagant display and a reckless press.

It is therefore little wonder that they who give birth to children and whose contribution to the world is measured in the quality of their boys and girls should claim an equal interest and an equal share in making the codes and practices of this larger civic home such as will further the highest welfare of the young.

Nor can antiquated justice or the bucolic traditions of a past age warrant leaving the fate of the young to interests which are primarily economic and to a system run chiefly for profits. However timely the present outcry for efficiency may be it is nevertheless void of permanent worth if its apostles are thinking, as heretofore, of output rather than of the human elements involved. So of the city, he who thinks that in its imposing buildings, in its gigantic industry and in its amazing commerce he sees the real thing is still deceived. The real thing is the life of the people and the most sacred thing of all, carrying as it does the fate of the future, is youth itself.

Why Women Are Interested

With the entrance of women into the field of civics this view has become increasingly clear. For women have been definitely preparing themselves from the time when, departing from the purely cultural clubs, they took up the study of civic problems. Moreover this training is in addition to what they received in common with the boys and young men in school and college; so that, as a rule, an audience of modern women will be found more intelligent in civic matters than will any audience of men of equal mental rank.

Nor have the women been merely intellectual or sentimental in their interest in such matters. In every state a considerable number of welfare measures have

originated with them and by them have been pressed to final enactment into law.

The Home as a Safeguard for Youth

Now the protection of boys and girls is, in its most fundamental aspect, nothing more or less than the preservation of the normal family home, and this is no easy task in modern city conditions. The industrial and commercial ends sought in the making and administration of cities have precedence over the rights and needs of children as centering in and conserved by the adequate home. The "business-first" impulse takes toll of our best protective agency at every turn. It crowds every area with rent-yielding buildings, eliminates yard, garden, pets and play space, piles family upon family, thrusts the roomer and boarder into the family circle, banishing privacy, reduces the area of rooms and increases rent, monopolizes the father and beckons with all too much success to the needy mother and the children in their early teens.

As an offset to this industrial aggression, which is led, for the most part, by the unregulated real estate man, the city, or voluntary agency therein, proffers certain community plans for play and for acquiring the pleasant and useful experiences of a normal home. Undoubtedly there is always a place for such endeavor, but if it be viewed as a just substitute for the shorn, playless and ravaged home then it becomes the refinement of irony in philanthropic dress. It is like saying

to childhood, "Behold our bounty! We have taken the personal, self-respecting joys from under your own roof and out of your own yard, we have eliminated your delight in home, your play-fellowship with father, mother, sister, brother, we have left you an institution in which you may eat and sleep and keep quiet, a thing that need not live in your memory, hold your loyalty or shape your habits, a thing to be deserted as much and as soon as possible. But yonder is the place of joy. There ten thousand of the dispossessed mingle in happy play, fearing only the time when they must return to their restricted and empty homes." When business shall have succeeded in getting all the pleasant things elsewhere, with only the biologically necessary and the unpleasant things left to the home, it will have performed the major task in child destruction.

There is then a very real danger that substitutes for the home may divert attention from the fundamental issue. Unless the home can be made habitable and attractive, unless it can be made, for its own group, the best "social center" on earth, the children must remain relatively exposed and unprotected. While sufficient wealth is no guarantee that the home will reach its true function in ties of endearment, legitimate family pride and mutual concern, abject poverty, on the other hand, amounts to the certainty of failure in the function of the home and to a marked probability that the children will become delinquent. The degree of child protection corresponds to home efficiency.

Need of Improving General Living Conditions

It follows that there can be no substantial advance of juvenile protection apart from the general improvement of living conditions. Improper housing, industrial accidents, unemployment, alcoholism, ignorance, sickness, desertion, degeneracy and death attack the child's security by disabling or removing the parent. The loss of the father's income throws upon the mother the double duty of provider and home keeper. If she goes out to work the children are neglected, if she takes roomers they are crowded and imperiled. The death of the mother means a similar but less difficult problem. Relatives may take her place, an older daughter may assume the burden, a housekeeper may be employed or the father may re-marry. None of these makeshifts will be ideal but the blow to family protection will be less fatal since the breadwinner is preserved. The attempt, however, to keep fatherless families together at all cost often results in delinquency. The Fund to Parents' Law, popularly known as the Mothers' Pension Law, aims to preserve the family by paying the mother for her work of rearing the children and thus obviating the neglect involved in her going out to work.

Very naturally such a solution of the poverty factor in delinquency has met a ready response, so that more than a score of states have enacted pension laws of this sort and weekly or monthly payments to mothers

from public funds are becoming a general practice. But here again the question of fundamental betterment must be faced.

Is this pleasing form of state or county charity the best that can be done for the endangered family? Is the history of pensions and of any access to public funds altogether reassuring? Why are the politicians so keen for it? Can our overburdened courts administer it? What will be the effect upon social insurance in which industry coöperates with labor in providing against accident, sickness and death? What will be the effect upon the breadwinner's sense of responsibility for his family and upon the subsequent self-respect of the family itself? It is altogether conceivable that this easy solution may indefinitely retard real progress in family welfare and serve chiefly to lessen the just responsibilities of fathers and employers. From this angle child protection consists not in doles even by the government, but in such education in efficiency, fairness of opportunity, and training in coöperation as shall make every home secure against the demoralization of abject poverty and the compromises of pauperism.

Dangers from Repeated Removals of Tenants

Another unfortunate factor in many homes whose children are thereby exposed to moral danger is the constant shifting from place to place. Very many families will be found moving once a year; some,



GETTING WORKING PAPERS

The start of the young bread-winner

twice. The father must follow his work, or it is simply a gypsy habit, or it is a rent-saving plan. Sometimes a saving is effected by renting from November to May quarters for which the rental rate includes heating and then for the following six months a cheaper place is sought where heating is not included in the rental rate.

But for whatever cause the frequent moves are made they always dislocate the children from any real social rootage. The control exercised by neighborly regard and long acquaintance is lost. The child comes to live in an impersonal world, and, in cases of congestion and even of flat life, in a world that is repressive, suspicious and unfriendly. Among boys the stranger or new-comer is always at first the barbarian and therefore the enemy, and the attitude is not very different on the part of the flat-dweller who beholds any juvenile invasion of the premises. Few adults are able to retain their moral balance when the safeguard of acquaintance and friendly concern is withdrawn and to project children into a series of impersonal or antagonistic situations along with the ever-shifting domicile is to lessen society's automatic moral control and to expose the child to anti-social conduct.

Graduation from the Slum

However, such permanency of location as will secure to the growing children in the home a gracious and effective form of social control, protection by neighborliness is not easy to secure. Some neighbor-

hoods, of course, as is the case with the slums, make a constantly vicious onslaught upon whatever morality the home may strive to maintain. Not permanency, but migration at the earliest opportunity is the goal of such parental concern as may survive the deadening pressure of the slum. It is not then moving from the place of first residence into which the immigrant family drops upon arrival that is to be deprecated. Indeed the process of graduation from the slum where the worst in American life has first chance at the immigrant family is a tendency greatly to be encouraged. The burning shame consists in the fact that in making his great change to a new land and to urban conditions he, who is least equipped for successful adjustment, should be at the very outset surrounded and conditioned by the baneful influences of the slum.

Only by breaking the political power and possibly the social power of the saloon, by legislation and by some better form of "poor man's club," by city planning, by an adequate system of loans for home building, by proper reception and direction of incoming settlers and by training a generation of competent home makers, can we hope to forestall the moral havoc among the children of the poor and friendless—the strangers within our gates.

Child Labor

In the long run the adequacy of the home on its material side depends upon the efficiency of the bread

winner and the ability of the housewife. Child labor with its early arrest of schooling makes against the necessary fitness, and a system of education which does not connect with the world's work and coach its candidates into successful and progressive toil falls short of its duty to the prospective home.

The wages of these unskilled children rise slightly until they are twenty years of age and thereafter remain stationary, so that, at the time of marriage and home building when greater earnings are needed, the income is not sufficient, and in the meanwhile the girls, instead of having learned the duties of home-keeping, have spent their time and often their vital energy in low grade employment. Here again the home supplying real protective efficiency seems a long way off. It awaits the general development in industrial, domestic and vocational education, continuation schools, the extension and strengthening of compulsory education, and the right of educational authorities to enter shop and factory and to demand a progression of labor which will mean better training and an increasing wage; and also an extension of the minimum-wage principle.

It is on such grounds as these that one may not hope to find a panacea for juvenile delinquency but must be content to fight for child protection within the scheme of things; and it is on these grounds also that women are challenged to exert themselves in political action in order that their effort may be not only merciful and

philanthropic but formative for that very justice which will minimize philanthropy of the ordinary sort.

The Child in the Family

The argument so far has to do chiefly with the material outfit of the home which, when it falls below a certain minimum, involves neglect and delinquency. In turning to the further consideration of the organization, personnel and spirit of the home it must not be thought that this economic basis is irrelevant. The very spirit of the family, its relation to school, church, government and all public agencies is determined in no small degree by the very factors thus far considered. The community loyalty and interest of the householder far surpasses that of the renter and the responsibility and freedom for development of the family in the detached house is more clearly sensed and more potent for good than is the case with the flat dweller.

The Property Sense of Children

Take for example the development of property sense in children. One reason why eighty per cent of the delinquency of city boys consists in offenses against property is to be found in the fact that they have been brought up without experience in property rights. To begin with, the family has never known the joy, discipline and encouragement of the ownership of a bit of ground and a home. The attitude of the family has

been that of carelessness in the upkeep of the landlord's property. A common and not unjustifiable suspicion that too much rent was being charged supplanted any sense of regret over damages done. The tokens of ownership with all the deep feeling that is generated in the real homestead, the endearment forever of certain spots and belongings, the grounding of the child's moral history, the incentive to common endeavor and improvement, the point of view and the good citizenship of those who have a stake in the community—all these were lacking.

Besides this absence of background for a stable social and personal appreciation of property, the limited space in which large families are ordinarily reared prevents anything like a proper respect for the belongings of the individual child. The treasures of boyhood, so industriously and indiscriminately gathered, find no resting place and no security in the crowded home, and very little consideration at the hands of the overworked and distracted mother. Probably also the other children in the family exercise an uncensored communism with what ought to be sacred personal possessions.

The trappings, paraphernalia, play implements, and materials of construction which a boy accumulates are invested with a sanctity of his own choice and toil, they are himself *in extenso*; and when they are brushed aside, destroyed, or confiscated because of lack of living room and by virtue of the confusion of the crowded, and therefore unorganized home he is being trained for

reprisal and for the similar treatment of property as he finds it in the world about.

You who read this course and whose boys have their own quarters—workshop, garden, basement, attic, room with trophies, decorations, and keepsakes of their own choosing—will not, perhaps, appreciate the genetic relation between the poor home and the boy who steals.

Incentives to Theft

Not only so, but the very thefts of the boys illumine family history. Across the seas and in the rural parts from which sixty-six per cent of our immigrant families come, the very thrift of that frugal life which gathers fagots and lets nothing go to waste becomes a menace in the stress and temptation of the American city. The homes of these newcomers will be near the railroad tracks, the factories, the mill yards, the wharves. How can the thrift of centuries, in the grip of an American winter and face to face with high prices and uncertain employment, fail to notice the coal which is spilled along the railway tracks? But to invade that right of way and to gather the coal is a misdemeanor which the railway police ardently punish, and in some cases such trespassers have been shot. Nevertheless it is a misdemeanor in which the hard-pressed parents encourage their children.

Other items making the railway the mecca of boyish theft are junk, grain in "empties" and along the tracks

—and from such beginnings, breaking into cars, flipping, and the inviting hazard of dangerous exploits. If you will place over against the boy's general disinheritance and his natural inability to grasp the full import of property law the many and varied temptations to theft with which the city abounds, it will not be difficult to understand why this is his standard offense. The unoccupied house with a chance to prowl about in mystery and to acquire lead pipe or other merchantable stuff, the fruit stands and store displays doing their utmost to create desire and in many cases no material barrier (only an abstraction, the law) — this on the one hand, and on the other a raw candidate for civilization who for thousands of years has taken, or tried to take, whatever was desirable or necessary, especially if that desirable consisted in the fruits or products of the earth — all of this constitutes an unequal struggle, an unprotected childhood.

Full protection will not come by teaching ethics in the public school, desirable as that is. Indeed there is room for great improvement in school discipline from the property point of view. My own observation is that most teachers view tardiness, which affects their records, as a more serious offense than theft which vitally affects morals. The "swiping" of pencils, knives, and other property dear to children is too easily overlooked with the result that the offender concludes that he can "get away" with such actions and the victim suspects that justice is not to be had except by vio-

lence, wit, and reprisal. Again, respect for, and jealous care of, public property needs to be emphasized and practised with greater diligence.

The Home and the Delinquent Girl

We come back to the home, the basal institution of child protection, to inquire into the relation between the inadequate home and the delinquent girl. The boy's prowess against society is measured in terms of theft, the girl's in terms of immorality. Of course in both cases the only statistical basis for argument is the court record and the erring children of the well-to-do do not appear in court or in public correctional institutions. For the time being we must defer consideration of the home that is without handicap in point of material outfit.

As has been indicated it is the home with small resources that must sacrifice its children to industry. Needless to say such a home can offer little by way of wise counsel and direction. Besides the probability of vocational misfit with the demoralization of frequent hunting for a job, there are the difficulties which arise (especially in immigrant families) over the disposition of the child's small earnings. Boys and girls who have become accustomed to American ways often rebel at the wholesale demand of their foreign-born parents that all of their earnings be delivered into the parental hand. This breeds incorrigibility, deceit, and vagrancy. Many a juvenile tragedy centers about this issue. The girl,

knowing intuitively the great importance of a good appearance, resents being held in the position of a slave. The chances are that she will seek deliverance, "freedom," money by trickery and lying, or by some adventure involving her personal morality.

Something more should also be said of the effect of crowding. The direct danger is twofold: First, that which comes from the presence of male roomers, and second, that which crowding, along with parental ignorance, brings when the boys and girls occupy the same bed, as is often the case in the homes of the ignorant poor. But more general than this is the forcing of the girl to take to the street, public dance hall, and cheap show for social recreation and for the satisfaction of the desire for romance. It is a pathetic fact that the first play of the mating instinct coincides with the exposure of young girls to the problems and hazards of the promiscuous life in shop and factory. The assumption of social responsibility by these girls of fourteen to sixteen years of age is a cruel mistake for which altogether too many of them have to pay. But when you add to the monotony and evil suggestions of the factory the utter lack of social recreation in the home, you can easily appreciate the lure of the great commercialized amusements which thrive on this misfortune.

The Street

First in order, the street is the playground and parlor of the poor; and there never was a time when so many

young girls walked our streets in the wistful and dangerous hope of social adventure. With nothing at home and no place to entertain a friend, the love drama, all indistinct, but vital as it is blind, walks our streets under the charm of glittering lights, loiters at corners, or slinks into the parks. Parental protection of the right sort does not figure. The sponsorship and sanction of the home in the very important matter of inter-sex friendship is almost wholly lacking.

The Amusement Park

One rendezvous of this dispossessed yet imperative hope is the public amusement park. To this gay emporium of fun, with its variegated amusements, the girls go, seeking compensation, charm, thrill, and forgetfulness of the gray monotony of labor and the desolation of a socially barren home. The quest is made by twos. In fact, the social unit of girlhood is two, while that of boyhood is the "bunch" or gang. Arriving at the park, it will be found that young men who are looking for a "pick-up" will not be scarce. Introductions are not difficult, the matter of names or of correct names being of no importance. No one stands sponsor for the adventure. The guarantees of normal orderly society are lacking. A good time, tintured with romance—that is the demand. The girl engages in the evening's pleasure with the new-found friend. She becomes tacitly his debtor by virtue of his expenditure in providing for the dance, roller coaster, tickler, and

what not. Of course, she may come off scott-free, for clean and honorable young men will be found at times in this social predicament and hubbub. But it is too often otherwise. For with many young sports, who often hunt in gangs and coöperate in demoralizing girls, it is expected that she will repay in terms of improper liberties.

Now the amusement park itself makes no provision for victimizing the girl; but around about the concession will be found saloons with back rooms and with rooming apartments adjacent, and a system exists which will almost guarantee the ultimate surrender of the girl who continues to find her recreation in this hazardous way. So that what, in a properly protected society, might have operated as true love is exploited as lust and rewarded with shame. Forthwith society blows its gust of fatal epithets—"fallen," "ruined," etc.—and the door of hope slams shut. The poor home failed to protect its daughter. It was socially barren, educationally impotent—and she did not know.

With the changing season, the area of peril shifts from amusement parks, the secluded quarters of public parks, and the fringe of vacant lots and open country girdling the city, to the public dance halls, which occupy an unrivaled position in the debauchery of girls. The public dance hall, at its worst, concentrates practically all the forces that prey upon virtue,—liquor, music, excitement, familiarity, late hours, white-slave operators of both sexes, and an unsponsored acquaintanceship.

A recent investigation* of 328 public dance halls in Chicago revealed such facts as the following: "One hundred and ninety halls had a saloon opening into them, and liquor was sold in 240 out of the 328, and in others—except in rare instances—return checks were given to facilitate the use of the neighboring saloons"; "out of the 86,000 people found by the investigators in 278 dances, in the majority of the halls the boys were between the ages of 16 and 18 and the girls between 14 and 16"; "out of 158 dances, with 202 policemen found on duty, only 17 were properly policed"; "in 187 halls, immoral dancing and open embracing was indulged in"; "in 77 cases, disreputable lodging-houses are in close proximity to the hall"; "saloon-keepers and prostitutes are in many cases the only chaperons, and in a majority of the places even the young boys and girls fresh from school are plied with alcohol and with the suggestion of vice until dances cease to be recreation and become flagrant immorality." In a word, this most popular recreation is the tool by which saloon and brothel make money out of the soul of youth.

The Liquor Interests vs. Our Youth

There is no hope without first breaking the power of the liquor interest, which controls mayors, councils, police, and sometimes courts. The disposition on the part of so many social workers to overlook this issue, to court coöperation, and to persuade themselves that

* Juvenile Protective Association, 1910-11. See also p. 2561.

the liquor business in the large is honorable and needful, is due perhaps to awareness of the complexity of poverty, vice, and crime, and to chariness about being classified with so-called fanatics who have harped upon this string alone. However, no city can protect its youth while such a mighty and unscrupulous power both exploits this social hunger of the boys and girls who work and at the same time deprives the family of funds which might have made the home socially solvent. Many a family, whose children experience neglect and delinquency, is thus besieged both front and flank by this insatiable enemy. Surely, woman's entrance upon the field of political combat will ultimately mean some relief for the beleaguered family. A new power of imagination, so little felt in business-made politics, will invest government with human values, and the contending forces which have too long been circumscribed by economic motives will break through to the real issues of life and death. Back of organized government, and subject to its success or failure are all these children of our common family. In the name of morality, their rights are more sacred than those of property, and their just treatment more vital to the future welfare of the republic than all the profits, revenues, and fortunes which absorb the attention of government.

"Do It for the Children"

We may justly hope that the protection of youth will furnish a new angle and a mighty motive for city im-

provement. "Do it for the children," will become more and more the slogan of reform, and upon this basis many an evil will be corrected which, with a less human and less general appeal, would remain unmoved. "A square deal for the city's children," is an adequate civic platform, for it is at this point that every important and needed reform rests upon the heart of the community, gathering warmth, emotion, and power.

In addition to excluding liquor and the liquor interest from the public dance hall, it becomes necessary to personalize and safeguard this favorite recreation by grouping within the lines of acquaintance in school, settlement, factory, neighborhood, etc., and by providing chaperons who are morally and socially competent. As an immediate step, the policewomen recently appointed in various cities may render good service in protecting girls in public dance halls. As an indication of the need of protection at this point, we may cite the cases of eighty unmarried mothers whose cases are now (November 24, 1913) pending in the Chicago courts, and seventy-nine of whom attribute their misfortune to the public dance hall. Incidentally it may be remarked that the legal protection for such girls and their children is pitifully small. In case the paternity of the child can be proved, the father can be made to pay not more than one hundred dollars the first year, nor more than fifty dollars a year for the next nine years.

Perhaps the most comprehensive aid, outside of reha-

ilitating the home, is a department of recreation which shall serve the city not only in repressing harmful amusements but in the even more important task of developing wholesome recreation.

What has been said of the unprotected girl in amusement parks and dance halls holds relatively true of bathing beaches, excursion boats, and of all places of wholesale social concourse. Cheap theatres which distort romantic ideals; lavish display which creates envy, theft, and class hatred; the unconcern of the mistresses of domestic servants; the fatigue of industrial toil; the moral exposure in shop and office work, and the relentless hunt of immoral men, all combine to make the way of the working girl in the city more precarious and difficult than ever before.

No doubt the present degree of publicity given to these dangers, and the humanitarian work of numerous societies, tend toward protection; but still unsophisticated girls from the country, or from ignorant homes, together with neglected subnormal girls, furnish a great army of unfortunates, so that our refuges, rescue homes, and reformatories overflow with those who have known almost nothing of human society, and especially of its male members, beyond the ever present attempt at unfair and immoral advantage. Emphasis should be placed upon the very great danger to the morals of both boys and girls in allowing the subnormal, abnormal, or depraved girl to run at large. I recall a recent case where as many as fifty boys were

demoralized in this way, and the moral damage wrought by one irresponsible girl among her own companions is equally deplorable.

The misdemeanors which make girls immoral and dangerous to the community occur earlier than is commonly supposed. Lacking reliable and chaste information in matters of sex, the imagination of both boys and girls feeds upon the vulgarities of street and school-yard, of billboard, postal card, and immoral books. Proper protection involves not only the training of parents to impart the needed information at an early age, and within the sacred confidence of a real home, but also a rigid censorship covering the community's abuse of sex interest. The advertiser is sometimes at fault, as is also the "barker" for cheap shows and the "plugger" for public dances. Photograph galleries of the cheap sort will bear watching, and all venders of postal cards need regular inspection. The Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago has taken a fabulous amount of obscene material from school children, and has also confiscated from small dealers two and a half million obscene postal cards, forty thousand indecent photographs, and ten thousand immoral books.

"The Movies"

Of late years the cities have been lavishly provided with a new and attractive form of amusement—the nickel show. The daily patronage of children in the United States is about half a million, and the nickel



THE ATTRACTION OF THE MOVING PICTURE SHOW

show is, beyond doubt, a significant agent in their education. The method of appeal is so vivid and dramatic, and the underfed and neurotic children of the street are so constant in attendance, and attend at such late hours in the evening, that it becomes highly important for the community to insist upon good moral quality in the films exhibited. Proper lighting, ventilation, fire protection, and decorum in management are also important.

In most cases, if these attractions are left entirely to the ambitions and tastes of the managers, there will be a tendency toward the use of doubtful or harmful films, and in the dime shows an outcropping of vulgarity in vaudeville and song. Dependence upon the National Board of Censorship, which is doing a great and good work, is not altogether sufficient, since that board is without police power and does not examine all films going into circulation. Every city needs to have its own board, which embodies the community's proper moral judgment in the matter and controls for good this remarkable educational power. Ideally, control should be not merely negative but positive through hearty coöperation with an enlightened management.

If only crime-breeding and brutalizing films can be kept from circulation—or from being manufactured—and if the present rate of improvement in the use of educational and purely recreative films can be kept up, it will not be long before the nickel show is rated as a distinct moral asset to the community. Already the saloon feels and resents its competition. For now

father often goes with the family to the near-by "movie," finding and giving pleasure less costly and of a higher order than the saloon provides.

It will be a shame, indeed, if we allow an instrument so potent for good to rest at a "Mutt and Jeff" level of performance. What a servant of literature, science, history, art, travel, sport, patriotism, health, philanthropy, and religion—and what an audience, in size, importance, and receptivity—is ever at hand! When we think of the opportunity, it seems worth while for good citizens to encourage managers to secure the very best films in the market. In abolishing, as we should, bad films, vulgar vaudeville, and the atrocious "amateurs' night," let us also attempt to coöperate directly with managers in building up all that is wholesome and good.

Supervised Play

Of course, it must not be supposed that this or any other form of passive recreation can have the protective value of active, supervised play. It is as important as it is difficult to keep the children wholesomely employed, and, with the lack of home duties, it becomes imperative to care for surplus energy, adventure, and exhilaration by means of vigorous games. There is danger, however, that this protective device be applied most generously to those who have the least imperative need. For example, pupils in secondary schools and colleges usually have the benefits of elaborate provision for play and physical training. But the mass of chil-

dren in the grade schools are without play directors at the very time when they have least ability and equipment to effect organization for themselves, and are also in imminent peril from incipient defects, which, if not corrected by wholesome play and physical training, will ultimately throw them into the discard. The gamin's shrewd observation that "them as has gits" is nowhere better illustrated than by the undemocratic administration of play whereby the little fellows who are balancing between physical defect with its moral failure and good health with its presumption of moral fitness are left unassisted while those who have survived—the one out of thirty-five who reaches high school and the one out of one hundred and twenty who reaches college—receive elaborate care.

The Dangers of Street Trades

A further item in the protection of city children consists in the necessity of removing them from all street trades. The street experiences of newsboys, boot-blacks, messenger boys, and the venders of trinkets and confections, are not such as make for good health, good morals, and good citizenship. Late hours at night and very early morning hours, irregular meals, bad companionships, gambling, trickery, familiarity with saloons and evil resorts, do not make the first-rate business man of the popular American delusion. This program, pursued through childhood and youth, yields a tradeless, depleted individual, sophisticated and shrewd, perhaps,

but lacking in ability to meet the demands of adult life and to make progress in any settled pursuit.

It may be said that protection at this point, and for those sorely needing it, has lagged behind factory legislation in defense of childhood, and our American cities are criminally careless in this regard. In the general absence of good state laws placing street vending under school control, as in the case of Massachusetts and Wisconsin, it becomes necessary for each city to cover its own needs by such ordinances as can be enforced by an awakened public. Repeated investigations have shown that in practically no case does the family so exposing its children actually need their pitiful earnings, and that the public delusion on this point only encourages unscrupulous adults to make larger use of the children for the purpose of pocketing a goodly percentage of their earnings.

The Juvenile Court

In protecting those children — almost invariably the children of the poor — who actually fall into the hands of the law, the juvenile court performs a great and merciful task. In both method and personnel, such courts, which are nowhere so highly developed as in the United States, constitute a mighty public defense for neglected and delinquent children. The aim of the court is not punishment, but treatment, and its jurisdiction, although varying in different states, usually covers the cases of boys up to seventeen years

of age and of girls up to eighteen. Anyone believing a child to be neglected, dependent, or delinquent, may petition the court to require the parents or guardian to appear with the child, so that both the child and society may be protected. In every case, whether the child has been arrested and placed in the detention home, or whether he is still with parent or guardian, the home conditions and all factors bearing on the case are carefully investigated by a probation officer, so that at the time of hearing the judge may have such facts as will insure a wise decision for the child's welfare.

The cases are heard in a fairly private and informal way, and the child may be left with his parents and under the supervision of a probation officer; or, if the natural guardians are unfit and incompetent, the child may be sent to a public institution for his care and training. Unless discharged by the judge at the recommendation of the probation officer or superintendent of the institution, he remains a ward of the court until reaching his majority. During all this time the court extends its friendly offices to him in the person of the probation officer, who is the judge's representative and who stands sponsor for the child. Institutional treatment aims at fitting the offender or dependent for taking his place as soon as possible in a normal family home, so that "placing out" and supervising those so placed is a very important part of the remedial system.

At present, the unprotected class of delinquents consists of those who are above juvenile court age and who

have not reached the estate of responsible adults; in other words, offenders from seventeen to twenty-one years of age. These are thrown into the common lock-ups, jails, and workhouses with hardened criminals of all sorts. The old method of punishment is brought to bear upon them, and they are developed and confirmed in criminal tendencies.

A great many of these are arrested and browbeaten by the police—8,423 in Chicago alone during the year 1911. If friendless and poor, as is usually the case, they cannot give bail, and so are kept in the lock-up for their preliminary hearing, and, if not then discharged, lie in jail awaiting a hearing before the grand jury. In the meanwhile they are sweated by the police, who naturally, and often by violent means, try to lay upon them crimes which the department has not cleared up. Their word is not to be taken against that of an officer, while any little money that friends will raise is readily taken by the shyster lawyer, who gives no service in return, and their photographs and measurements go into the records of the rogues' gallery. After all this, more than half of them will be discharged by the grand jury, which hears only evidence for the prosecution, or by the court to which they are held.

With such a pleasant experience of justice, how can it be expected that those who have already shown some inclination toward moral failure, and who are already perilously exposed to evil influence, will turn out other than lawless and anti-social?

The following extract from a recent study* of lock-ups will indicate something of their efficiency as producers of disease and crime :

"Another factor in the demoralization of the juvenile offender is subjection to brutalizing influences, due to the condition of the lock-ups and cells in the police stations. In most of the stations the cells are in the basements, which are always dingy, damp, unsanitary and generally unfit for human habitation. No pure air and no direct rays of the sun ever reach them. The surface of the brick walls is rough, unclean and vermin-ridden. Very few have sanitary water closets; most of the lock-ups have either buckets which are unspeakably vile, or troughs which are supposedly flushed with water, though as a rule the sewage is quite neglected. Most of these cells are not only filthy but they are actual breeding places of contagion and loathsome diseases. In some stations the cells are often so packed with inmates that the prisoners have to stand all night. In one place which the writer inspected the filth covering the floor of the cells and the stench were suffocating, and this was in the daytime, when there were comparatively few prisoners in the cells. In another station there were 8 cells—5 for men and 3 for women—all in a row. There was a kind of trough running through the cells which 'worked very badly,' according to the officer who acted as guide. A small, dingy room next to the women's cells, with wretched water and plumbing accommodations, was shown the visitor as the kitchen, and an old woman who was introduced as the matron said that when the cells were overcrowded she took into her room (the just mentioned kitchen) the young girls who were arrested."

The Children of the Well-to-Do

With due regard for all the machinery of protection, and with full emphasis on those physical conditions of efficiency and morality which are set forth in this chap-

* Drucker, A. P., "On the Trail of the Juvenile Adult Offender." Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago, 1912.

ter, I wish to insist ultimately upon the fact that there is no adequate protection for youth until an inner and spiritual control is set up in the life. There is great danger that we shall forget that and infer that the youth who is outwardly respectable is therefore essentially protected from anti-social conduct. A recent study of the moral standards of some thirty-one public schools, several of them high schools in very favored districts, has brought me to the conclusion that while the class usually known as delinquent may pilfer from society, it is the children of privilege who are most likely to plunder society.

This latter class is composed of those who are unprotected from luxury; who appreciate America less than the immigrant; who know how, in some cases, their wealth is derived from the unfair methods of their fathers, and who, even at an early age, are cynical and without concern for the public good. They have all the major facilities of delinquency — wealth and motor cars and leisure, and some assurance that their delinquencies will be hushed up. They need the protection of parents who talk something besides business, and who worship something other than business success. They need to face their indebtedness to the common life, past and present; and all alike need the touch of God imposing life as a great trust and assigning to every soul a worthy purpose. This is that impregnable protection which should be made possible and actual for every youth.

The Juvenile Protective Association

By LOUISE DE KOVEN BOWEN

Its Object

THOSE of us who live in a large city know how many pitfalls surround its children and how their natural desire for pleasure has been used by business enterprise, so that commercial undertakings have sprung up everywhere prepared to cater to every foolish demand; slot machines, penny arcades, candy stores, moving picture shows, roller skating rinks, cheap theatres, and dance halls are trying to lure children with every device known to modern advertising, and the children, unconscious of temptation, are exposed to it when they are least able to withstand it.

The Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago is attempting to minimize the dangers which surround children and to create throughout the city new agencies to develop sane and wholesome interests for young people.

The Association deals every year with about six thousand children and their immediate surrounding. It has divided the city into fourteen districts with a paid officer in each district and a local league of

interested citizens whose duty it is to know their own neighborhood, to know how many saloonkeepers and tobacconists are selling tobacco or liquor to minors, to know how many poolroom keepers are harboring boys, to know how many disreputable houses are enticing young girls, and to know how many dance halls there are in the neighborhood not properly conducted. It is also the business of these citizens to know what constructive work can be done in their district, how many vacant lots may be turned into gardens or playgrounds, how many churches have rooms that may be opened for games or libraries, and how many schools may be used for purposes of public recreation.

Results of Its Investigation

The work of the Association consists of investigation and of repressive and constructive work. Under the head of investigation the Association has made a study of the personal histories of two hundred department store girls, two hundred factory girls, two hundred office girls, and two hundred immigrant girls.

Finding that girls in hotels and restaurants were subjected to many temptations, the Association made an investigation of fifty hotels and seventy-two restaurants with a view of finding out the conditions under which the girls worked—where they slept, what they ate, their hours of work, and the temptations to which they were exposed. This investigation disclosed that wages in hotels varied from forty to seventy-five cents

a day; that only in three hotels were the sleeping accommodations good; that out of the fifty hotels, only in three did the girls express themselves satisfied with the treatment accorded them by the managers; that only in six was the food wholesome; that in all the hotels the girls had extremely hard work and complained of fatigue, and that in many they were exposed to insult from employees and guests.

It was found that lack of recreation and constant overwork lessened the resistance of the girls, and that sooner or later many of them yielded to temptation. The Association recommends, for all hotels, a welfare secretary who could look after the moral and physical needs of the girl employees.

The investigation of seventy-two restaurants showed much the same conditions, and in addition, brought out the fact that the waitresses who were off duty from two until five in the afternoon had no place to go, and spent the time on the streets or accepted invitations from street loiterers to visit the theatres, and that some place where these girls could spend their leisure time was absolutely necessary. This need was made known to the Junior League of Chicago, who have responded by opening a rest room for waitresses and working girls in the downtown district.

An investigation of the cheap theatres showed that about thirty-two thousand children attended these theatres daily and that about three-fourths of the moving pictures shown must have a deleterious effect upon chil-

dren. The Association visited four hundred and five theatres, and found two hundred and sixteen violations of law. They induced the Chief of Police to enforce an old ordinance and to appoint a censorship bureau. This has been done, and the last investigation of the theatres showed only four bad films and twenty-nine violations of law, one hundred and thirteen miles of bad films having been condemned by the Censorship Committee. The Association is now trying to secure an ordinance which will provide that all moving pictures must be shown in well lighted rooms. If this is done, the theatres will be much safer for children and young people.

The Association is at present conducting three investigations: one of them, of the three hundred and sixty-eight photograph galleries of the city; another, of the places where Greek newsboys are employed; another, the personal histories of one hundred boys between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one who have been confined in the county jail. The first investigation already shows that many photographers are taking indecent pictures, and through the efforts of the Association three proprietors of photograph galleries have already been sent to the penitentiary. The second investigation shows that many Greek boys under fifteen are working sixteen hours or more a day. These boys come to this country with older men. They have no home life and no educational advantages, and they are exploited by the proprietors of bootblacking stands for whom they work. The third investigation has shown that many

boys are railroaded into the penitentiary for their first offence; that many times, although they are afterwards found innocent, their pictures are taken and left in the Rogue's Gallery, and that they are very often subjected by the police to brutal treatment.

The Association found in the waiting rooms of some of the department stores of Chicago, large numbers of young girls who went every day to read the advertisements for positions in the morning papers. It was discovered that many white slavers frequented these rooms in order to make the acquaintance of the girls and to ply their trade. In three weeks' time the Association arrested and convicted seventeen men and three women for carrying on their nefarious business in these waiting rooms. The managers of the department stores were much concerned, and gave the Association every assistance; they put on, in most cases, better and more matrons, who were supplied with cards which they gave to the girls patronizing the rooms. These cards state that employment may be had by applying at the office of the Juvenile Protective Association, and in the past year the Association has secured three hundred and twenty positions for boys and girls.

Another investigation showed that owing to the fact that the lake excursion boats were on the high seas, and convictions consequently hard to secure, many laws were broken. Liquor was sold to minors and gambling and immorality allowed free rein. Through the efforts of the Association, assisted by the Board of Education

and the Political Action Committee of the Union League Club of Chicago, these boats have become fairly respectable.

A study of the amusement parks of the city, operated for commercial reasons, showed many objectionable features. Many of the entertainments offering the most serious temptations to children have been eliminated through the efforts of the Association and with coöperation of the police.

The Danger of the Dance Hall

Perhaps the most important investigation made was that of the three hundred and twenty-eight dance halls of the city. This investigation showed that about eighty-six thousand young people attended these dance halls on Wednesday and Saturday nights; that many of the halls were feeders for the under world, and that in the majority of them all laws of common decency were broken, their object being not to provide dancing facilities but to sell liquor. One hundred and ninety dance halls were found to be connected with saloons; one hundred and forty-six sold liquor to minors; one hundred and eighty-seven permitted immoral dancing; ninety-seven violated the building ordinance; seventy-seven had rooming houses opening off the halls or in the immediate neighborhood, and while two hundred and two policemen were found on duty, only seventeen were attempting in any way to

enforce the law. Through the efforts of the Association, many of the more disreputable halls have been closed. A number of proprietors have been arrested and prosecuted, and a majority of the halls are now much more reputable.

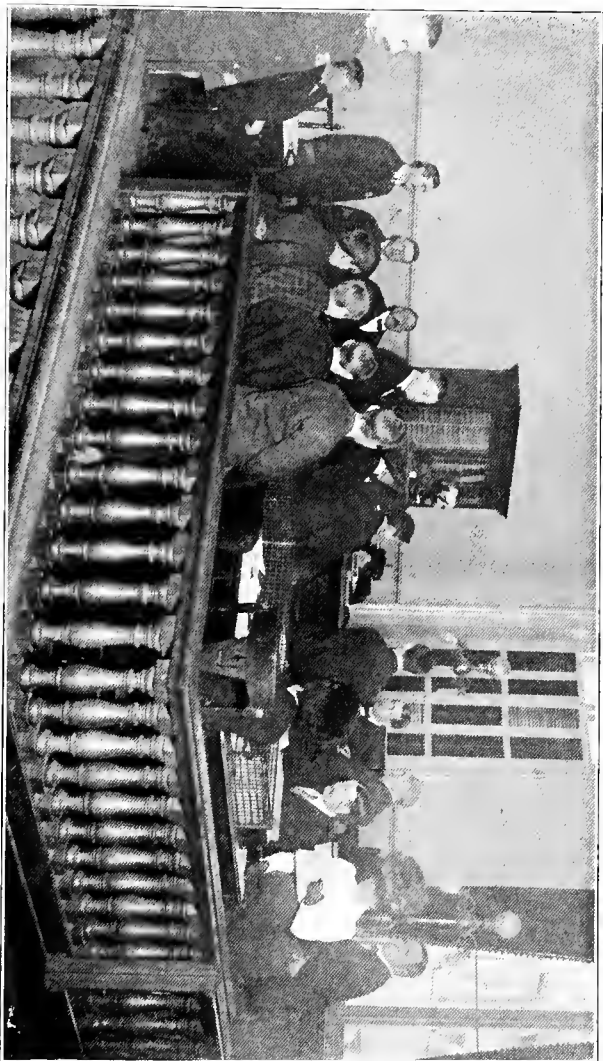
The Association found that restaurants, bakeries, and all-night lunch rooms were in the habit of giving away broken scraps of food between the hours of two and four in the morning, and needy families were sending their children for this food. As a result, several little girls were assaulted on the street at night. An officer from the Association visited one hundred and forty-eight of these places and secured from the proprietors a promise that they would prolong the hours of distribution until seven in the morning, and an investigation made three or four months later showed that one hundred and forty-seven had kept their promise, and conditions were greatly improved.

All these investigations have thrown much light on the temptations which surround boys and girls and the conditions which are harmful to them. It often appears that the Association, either through legislation or effort of some other kind, is able to better conditions. These glimpses into the lives of city girls have shown very clearly that fatigue plays a larger part in their breakdown than does anything else. The one complaint from department store, factory and hotel girls is that after the day's work is over, they are too tired even to care what becomes of them.

Repressive Measures

In the line of repressive measures, the Association has tried to prevent the sale of liquor to minors, and over eight hundred saloon-keepers have been prosecuted. The sale of tobacco to minors has been discouraged by one hundred and seventy prosecutions. Two and a half million obscene postal cards have been destroyed and one hundred and seventy-eight persons prosecuted for selling them. Over seven hundred gambling slot machines, twelve thousand immoral books, and forty thousand indecent photographs have been destroyed.

Under the head of constructive work, the Association has opened clubs and classes all over the city. It coöperates with the Saloon-Keepers' Protective Association, the Billiard and Pool Room Association, and the Retail Druggists' Association. All of these organizations have given valuable advice and help as to the enforcement of the law among their own members. The Association supports two recreation centers in the public schools, has started a number of groups of boy scouts, has induced several churches to keep their rooms open every night for games or library purposes, has organized rest and lunch rooms for girls who work in factories. It has cards in all billiard halls and pool rooms calling the attention of the proprietors to the fact that minors under eighteen are not permitted, and in all the saloons warning the saloon-keeper that it is against the law to sell liquor to minors.



A JUVENILE COURT, NEW YORK CITY

It has published a Manual of Laws pertaining to children and constantly publishes the results of its investigation on special dangers or temptations which surround young people in the city.

The Association attempts to secure beneficent legislation whenever it is possible. We have in Illinois no law which forbids children's working upon the streets, selling newspapers, or gum, or merchandise. Recent investigations have shown that large numbers of young children are upon the streets at night. The Chicago Vice Commission's report makes a plea for these "children of the night," and urges that children who become familiar with all aspects of vice end by taking part in it. The officers of the Association followed home from the shopping district eighty-two of these children; they found out the family history and learned that out of these eighty-two little merchants it was necessary only for five to be at work. The families of all the others were well-to-do, several of them owning their own houses, and one man having seven thousand dollars in the bank. The Association has on record many cases of girls who have sold gum in the segregated districts, who have sung songs and sold papers in the saloons, and, at a very early age, have entered a disreputable life. It has also many cases of boys who, through their work as delivery or messenger boys, have become acquainted with inmates of houses of prostitution and have become depraved because of this familiarity. An attempt was made to

secure some legislation in regard to these street children. A number of conferences were held in the Mayor's office with the publishers of the various newspapers, and an ordinance was finally agreed upon, which was afterwards passed by the City Council, and went into effect July 28th, 1912. This ordinance prohibits all girls under eighteen from selling anything upon the streets, and all boys under fourteen from selling after eight p. m. or before five a. m. It has been well enforced by the police, and when they find that a child is working because it is necessary for the family income to be supplemented, they refer the family to the United Charities, who at once render assistance.

The Association employs twenty-eight people. Its budget is thirty thousand dollars a year, raised by subscription.

The entire idea of the Association is to coöperate with every other organization in keeping children from going wrong, and to furnish them, at the most critical period in their lives, with the recreation, advice, and friendly help which is so necessary for them. Without some such efforts on the part of public-spirited citizens, we can scarcely hope to diminish the constantly increasing juvenile crime in our cities.

How to Start an Association

The best way to organize a Juvenile Protective Association is to have a number of people call a meeting at a public hall, the meeting to be addressed by various

speakers — clergymen, social workers, truant workers, and public officials — people who know something of the conditions in their city, who will urge the formation of an association whose object shall be to repress and prevent conditions contributing to the truancy and delinquency of children and to create a public sentiment for the establishment of wholesome recreation facilities for boys and girls. After the association has been formed, with a small fee for membership, a capable person should be engaged as a permanent officer.

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QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART III

1. *With what modern reforms is the protection of youth most closely allied?*

2. *What are the standard protective requirements of a normal home? How may community recreation of a wholesome sort work injustice to the home?*

3. *What reasons can you give for the differences, in bulk and in kind, between the misdemeanors of boys and of girls? How does the public press contribute to delinquency?*

4. *What explanations can be given for the fact that the age of fifteen years marks the maximum of juvenile delinquency? What are the dangers of street trades?*

5. *How does the gang operate in causing delinquency? What is the relation of location to child protection?*

6. *How does the stability of the home affect child protection? In what ways is the child of the immigrant family peculiarly unprotected?*

7. *Can you show the bearing of vocational training and guidance upon child protection?*

8. *What is the protective value of gardening and nature study? What is the protective value of organized and supervised play?*

9. *What are the possibilities of the nickel show, both helpful and harmful? How can the nickel show be regulated and improved? What are the dangers of the public dance hall?*

10. *What are the dangers of public amusement parks? In what ways does the saloon contribute to juvenile delinquency?*

11. *How should sex-hygiene and morality be taught? How can respect for property be cultivated in children?*

12. *Why is the ratio of delinquency higher in cities than in country districts? What abuses need to be corrected in cases of juvenile-adults under arrest? Has religious experience protective value and if so, how?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. *Mothers' Pensions.*
2. *The Court of Domestic Relations.*
3. *Boy Scouts and Camp-Fire Girls.*
4. *Public Schools as Social Centers.*
5. *The Relation of Physical Defect to Juvenile Delinquency.*
6. *The Use of the Drama in Moral Training.*

PART IV

State Care of the Unfortunate

By THOMAS J. RILEY, Ph.D.

PUBLIC care of the unfortunate is provided chiefly by the commonwealths or their political subdivisions, the county, the township, and the municipality, or by some of these combined into a district. The federal government, however, cares for the unfortunate, to a limited extent, especially for dependents upon persons injured or killed in the service or the employ of the government.

As used in this title the word "care" includes aid given to people in their own homes, and support in an almshouse or other public institution. It is difficult to make a thoroughly satisfactory classification of the unfortunates, but the familiar one of dependents, defectives and delinquents is probably the best for the present purpose. Under dependents are usually considered destitute and neglected children, the sick, the infirm and aged poor, and the poor in general. Under defectives are usually considered the deaf, the blind, the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic and the inebriate. A good argument could be made, however,

that many insane and many inebriates are not defective. Under delinquents are usually considered incorrigible and wayward boys and girls, vagrants and criminals. A good argument could be made that many in these classes are really defective.

THE CARE OF DEPENDENTS

Destitute and Neglected Children

The occasional newspaper story of a baby found on a doorstep only hints at the large number of infants, usually born out of wedlock, that are abandoned by their mothers. The police records of a city show a considerable number of such unfortunates picked up in hallways and doorways, while many are found dead, or more dead than alive, in ash cans and other out-of-the-way places.

Usually an infant found alive is turned over by the police to some foundling asylum, managed and supported as a private institution, but frequently receiving some payment from the city.

In addition to the infants thus picked up, a large number of illegitimate babies are brought directly to the foundling asylum. The question of the conditions of admission to such institutions is a difficult one to answer. If the conditions of admission are too embarrassing or severe, infanticide and abandonment are likely to be encouraged. If they are too easy experience seems to show that illegitimacy is encouraged.

If the mother goes free of the care of the baby both suffer, and the greatest incentive to a better life, the baby itself, has been taken from the unhappy woman. It is a question of delicate balance between discipline and love, and the most hopeful thing to do is to persuade the mother to enter with her baby, care for it and assist in the care of others until such time as she is able to take a place at service in a good home, preferably in the country.

So marked is the social ostracism of an erring woman that secret ways of disposing of babies born out of wedlock are not uncommon. Frequently it is discovered that some out-of-the-way house is really a receiving place for such children. The mother leaves the child to be "boarded" but it frequently happens that after the initial payment no word comes from the mother. The "keeper" sometimes gives or "sells" the child to some family, but in the majority of cases the child dies. These places are sometimes called "baby farms" and represent an abuse and sacrifice of baby life not equalled elsewhere.

Mr. Hastings H. Hart, Director of the Department of Child Helping, Russel Sage Foundation, has recently summed up the program for caring for the illegitimate child, saying among other things that in every city above 50,000 population a systematic campaign should be undertaken with expectant mothers who are unmarried; physicians in general practice, superintendents, matrons or nurses of general hospitals, lying-in hos-

pitals, and homes for young women should be required to report every mother of an illegitimate child to the Board of Health as soon as her condition becomes known, who should thereupon be visited and instructed by a nurse; such mothers should be required to nurse the child, if possible, and to care for it at least a year; every effort should be made to find the mother of an abandoned infant and require her to support it.

Commitment of Children to Institutions

The orphaned child, especially if it be quite young, has long been regarded as of special interest to the church. The earlier favorite method was to care for such orphans in institutions conducted by the church. In some states public money is appropriated to these orphanages, formerly usually in lump sums, but latterly for the most part on a per capita basis. Fraternal societies, notably the Free Masons, also maintain homes for the young children of deceased members.

But the state assumes the care of children not because they have no parents, but because they have no support, because they are destitute or neglected. Hence we find both orphaned and non-orphaned children cared for wholly or in part by the state. We find some children committed on application of the parent, or parents, because they are unable to support them; and others committed against the will of the parents because they are deemed improper guardians of their own children.

The institutions to which these children are com-

mitted are sometimes public institutions and sometimes private. In assigning children to private institutions it is customary to send the child to an institution of the same religious faith as the parents of the child.

The voluntary commitments are usually made through the poor law officer while enforced commitments are generally made by a court, frequently by the juvenile court.

Institutions for the care of such children may be said to be of two types, the congregate and the cottage plans. The former means large buildings with large groups of children in dining room, dormitory, and class room. The latter means small buildings and small groups of children in a more informal association patterned after the family.

The later and more generally approved method of caring for dependent children is not to commit them to an institution but to "place them out" in private homes where they are sometimes "adopted" and sometimes boarded. Private societies have more generally adopted the placing-out plan than have the states. But the Michigan plan of a state temporary or receiving home and school with subsequent placing out is gaining in public favor.

A few years ago those who advocated placing dependent children in family homes seemed easily to have the better of the argument over those who favored the institutional care, the criticism being that the wholesale upbringing of children did not qualify them for

successful individual effort and for their own prospective homes and families, and the superior merit claimed being that the family homes gives the only natural environment for a child.

But with the recent improvement in methods of institutional care, especially in the direction of the cottage plan, or small group idea, and with the recognition of the difficulties of supervision of children placed out and of the poor grade of many homes in which they are boarded, the argument does not appear to be so overwhelmingly in favor of "placing out."

The principles announced by the White House Conference still represent, however, the prevailing opinion as to the care of dependent children and we can not do better than to quote them. They are in part as follows:

Home Care. Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and of character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character, suffering from temporary misfortune, and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner, should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children. This aid should be given by such methods and from such sources as may be determined by the general relief policy of each community, preferably in the form of private charity, rather than of public relief. Except in unusual circumstances, the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality.

Home Finding. As to the children who for sufficient reasons must be removed from their own homes, or who have no homes, it is desirable that, if normal in mind and body and

not requiring special training, they should be cared for in families whenever practicable. The carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home. Such homes should be selected by a most careful process of investigation, carried on by skilled agents through personal investigation and with due regard to the religious faith of the child. After children are placed in homes, adequate visitation, with careful consideration of the physical, mental, and moral and spiritual training and development of each child on the part of the responsible home-finding agency is essential.

Cottage System. So far as it may be found necessary temporarily or permanently to care for certain classes of children in institutions, these institutions should be conducted on the cottage plan, in order that routine and impersonal care may not unduly suppress individuality and initiative. The cottage unit should not be larger than will permit effective personal relations between the adult caretaker or caretakers of each cottage and each child therein. Twenty-five is suggested as a desirable cottage unit, subject to revision in the light of further experience in the management of cottage institutions.

The sending of children of any age or class to almshouses is an unqualified evil, and should be forbidden everywhere by law, with suitable penalty for its violation.

Inspection of Educational Work. Destitute children at best labor under many disadvantages, and are deprived in greater or less degree of the assistance and guidance which parents afford their own children. It is important, therefore, that such children be given an education which will fit them for self-support and for the duties of citizenship, and the State should provide therefor. In order that this education may be equal to that afforded by the schools attended by the other children of the community, it is desirable that the education of children in orphan asylums and other similar institutions or placed in families should be under the supervision of the educational authorities of the State.

Facts and Records. The proper care of a child in the custody of a child-caring agency, as well as the wise decision as to the period of his retention and ultimate disposition to be made

of him, involve a knowledge of the character and circumstances of his parents, or surviving parent, and near relatives, both before and at the time the child becomes dependent, and subsequently.

We believe, therefore, that every child-caring agency should

(a) Secure full information concerning the character and circumstances of the parents and near relatives of each child in whose behalf application is made through personal investigation by its own representative, unless adequate information is supplied by some other reliable agency.

(b) Inform itself by personal investigation at least once each year of the circumstances of the parents of children in its charge, unless the parents have been legally deprived of guardianship, and unless this information is supplied by some other responsible agency.

(c) Exercise supervision over children under their care until such children are legally adopted, are returned to their parents, attain their majority, or are clearly beyond the need of further supervision.

(d) Make a permanent record of all information thus secured.

Physical Care. The physical condition of children who become the subjects of charitable care has received inadequate consideration. Each child received into the care of such an agency should be carefully examined by a competent physician, especially for the purpose of ascertaining whether such peculiarities, if any, as the child presents may be due to any defect of the sense organs or to other physical defect. Both institutions and placing-out agencies should take every precaution to secure proper medical and surgical care of their children and should see that suitable instruction is given them in matters of health and hygiene.

Summary. The preceding suggestions may be almost completely summarized in this — that the particular condition and needs of each destitute child should be carefully studied and that he should receive that care and treatment which his individual needs require, and which should be as nearly as possible like the life of the other children of the community.

The White House Conference recommended the establishment of a Federal Children's Bureau. By an act of Congress approved April 9, 1912, such a Bureau was established in the Department of Commerce and Labor, the general scope of which is to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child-life among all classes of people, and especially to investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents, and diseases of children, employment, and legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories.

Funds-to-Parents Acts

The White House Conference crystallized a widespread sentiment in favor of home care of dependent children as compared with institutional care. It also gave an impetus to the movement for such care.

Many people have accepted the idea that if it is good to provide for children in foster homes it would be better to assist in the care of them in their own homes, provided the parents are proper guardians of their own children. They say that it would be much better to board the children, if necessary, with their own mothers than to board them with some other woman. Thus far the reasoning seems correct and the conclusion sound.

When the question is asked, however, as to whether such assistance shall be given from public funds by public officers or from private funds by private societies



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the advocates of home assistance divide into two camps. There is also a third camp with not a few members that would have public funds given through private societies.

Those who argue that such funds to parents should be given from public funds by public officials do so on such propositions as the following:

1. Such home assistance would reduce the size and cost of the children's institutions.

2. Private funds are not adequate to provide proper home assistance for such cases and can not be made adequate. While to many the principles and methods of the Charity Organization Societies are objectionable.

3. Such home assistance of the poor is a proper function of the state and should not be borne by private philanthropy.

4. The rearing of children is a service to the state and as such should be paid for—the “endowment of motherhood,” as it is called.

Those who prefer private funds by private societies present such reasons as the following:

1. The adequacy of such assistance does not consist in the amount of money given but in the wisdom with which it is given. “The administration of relief within the homes of the poor is a delicate ministry and requires deep abiding personal and sympathetic interest” which is generally given by private societies, but which cannot be given by public departments.

2. Even the best administration could not prevent the pauperizing influence of the public treasury opened

to persons on any ground other than for service rendered, for, as Thomas Mackey has so correctly observed, to the imagination of the poor the public treasury is inexhaustible and they drop upon it without thrift, as they do not upon private funds.

3. Public relief of poverty caused by sickness, by dangerous and unhealthful occupations, by industrial inefficiency, by physical and mental defects, cannot accomplish the prevention of poverty, but by its mistaken emphasis and attention and by its financial burden would tend to delay public health measures, accident compensation, industrial insurance, efficiency, education, and the prevention of multiplication of the unfit and defective.

4. Such home assistance as is now proposed under the terms "widows' pensions" and "funds to parents" is precisely the same thing as public outdoor relief, which has been given up as bad in most of the cities of the United States and England because it pauperized the poor and corrupted the public administration. There is no sufficient reason for believing that the same evil results would not again follow its reestablishment.

In answer to the arguments in favor of funds to parents it may be said that there are no facts to show that they would reduce the population of children's institutions, while the brief experience of Chicago and Kansas City and the lessons of outdoor relief in general create a probability that there would be no such decrease. It may further be said that the bearing and

rearing of children is a race function rather than a patriotic duty and that the experience of the United States has not shown the need of a "service pension" to parents, certainly not among the poor, where families are usually large, to guarantee a fighting strength or an adequate population.

In answer to the arguments opposed to "widows pensions" and "funds to parents" it may be replied that if public administration has in the past not been individualized and constructive it does not follow that it cannot be made so, especially since the charity organization societies have shown the way of home assistance. It might be claimed also that "doles" from limited private funds may pauperize as surely as an inexhaustible public treasury not constructively used in relief.

Notwithstanding the marked division of opinion on the merits of such assistance, more than a dozen state legislatures have recently passed some form of funds-to-parents act and others have created a commission to investigate the subject.

CARE OF THE AGED AND INFIRM

Public Outdoor Relief

Giving "pensions" to parents with small children is but one form of what is usually called "Outdoor Relief," that is, aid given to people outside of an institution, or in their homes. If such at-home assistance is given by public officers in the United States it is

called public outdoor relief. For the most part public outdoor relief is temporary assistance or partial support, otherwise the beneficiary is admitted to some institution.

Public outdoor relief is the most common form of state care of the poor in general. It is found in the country districts, village, town, smaller cities, and in about one-half of the cities of more than 100,000 population. Where there is a township civil organization, at-home relief is usually given by the township, though the township is, in many places, reimbursed by the county. Where there is no township organization the giving of public outdoor relief is a function of the county usually in the hands of a county court or a board of county commissioners.

It is impossible to say how much money is spent in public outdoor relief because in so many states the amounts are never carefully compiled even by counties and are generally not reported to any central authority. Indiana probably has the best system of public outdoor relief in the United States. There are in that state more than a thousand township overseers who are the local poor law officers. Through them the Board of State Charities has applied the principles of modern charity to an entire state. This is so important and the experience of Indiana so successful that it may be well to tell somewhat more in detail just how this is done.

Years ago the township trustee gave aid to the local

poor without supervision and the township was reimbursed by the county. Under that plan the amount spent annually mounted higher and higher. No record existed to show who were aided or why relief was needed.

In 1895 the first of the reform laws was passed which required the overseers of the poor to file quarterly with their respective boards of county commissioners, reports of every case or family aided and to forward a duplicate copy to the Board of State Charities showing the name, sex, color, civil condition, nationality, length of residence in the township, and the date and amount of relief in each instance.

This was followed in 1897 by a second law which required the overseers to levy a tax against all the property in the township to cover the expense of poor relief. In 1899 the laws were further amended.

Under these laws the amount of relief given declined from \$630,168 in 1895, to \$355,255 in 1896, to about \$210,000 in 1900, since which time the amount has been between \$200,000 and \$300,000. In 1897 82,235 persons, 1 in every 31 inhabitants of the state, received public aid; ten years later 37,724 persons were aided, 1 in 71; yet the population of the county poor asylums remained practically stationary. While the number of those helped has been reduced, the average amount per beneficiary has been somewhat increased, suggesting the substitution of more adequate aid for "doles" of relief.

In addition these laws have caused to be collected a veritable storehouse of information for studying the state problems of pauperism, the overlapping of the outdoor and the indoor pauper, prison, and defective population, as well as creating a state system of giving relief in such a way as least to encourage dependence and best to promote thrift.

In contrast to the method of Indiana that of Missouri may be briefly indicated.

In Missouri there is no township organization and the public outdoor relief is given by the county court, consisting of three members, one from the county at large and the others from districts. The grants are usually made quarterly and there is very little investigation of the cases and practically no supervision of the relief. The records of poor relief in the counties and the reports of the counties to the state auditor in the matter of relief are so incomplete and unsatisfactory that it is impossible to prepare statistical tables of much consequence and certainty.

A special investigation of county outdoor relief in Missouri was recently made by the St. Louis School of Social Economy, the conclusions of which amount to a terrible indictment of the system as it is practiced in that state. The main counts in this indictment are: that the judges of the county courts, who are the poor relief officers, are usually without knowledge of the conditions and needs of the outdoor paupers and hence money and relief given in the name of charity are

very often direct encouragements to indolence, drunkenness, and immorality, and go directly or indirectly to the support of sturdy beggars, prostitutes and criminals; that a surprisingly large proportion of the outdoor paupers are feeble-minded, or are in distress because of some feeble-minded relative, and that the county money makes it possible for, or encourages, feeble-minded persons to live at large and propagate their kind; that such unconsidered and misdirected charity not only adds to the burden of pauperism, defectiveness, vice and crime, but does not furnish real relief to the deserving poor who receive it and is not given to those most in need and deserving and least willing to ask it.

In the rural districts, towns, and smaller cities, public funds may be about all there are available in aid of the poor. But in the larger cities there are many churches and private charitable societies that provide help for the poor. Moreover, the settled character and more neighborly relations of the rural population make the administration of public outdoor relief easier than in great cities with their mixed, unsettled people, and the generally prevailing political manipulations. In fact it has been for some time, if indeed it is not still, the prevailing opinion among social workers that in large cities public outdoor relief should not be given.

The movement at the present time in favor of public outdoor relief would seem to justify detailing

the experiences of some of the American cities to this field of relief.

The experience of Brooklyn is rather striking. In 1872, 1 out of every 19 inhabitants of the city was receiving public outdoor relief, and in 1877, 1 out of every 16. In that time the number of beneficiaries doubled. The administration of the funds got into the hands of politicians and it was claimed with good reason that the expenditures were in many cases for political purposes rather than for relief. In 1878 the whole system was found to be illegal and abolished. The number of persons who were receiving relief in institutions increased only perceptibly while the demands upon private charitable societies showed no tendency to increase, but rather a tendency to decline.

In 1867 Philadelphia, with a population of about 650,000, spent \$453,740 for relief of the poor, including city outdoor relief. This amount gradually increased to \$509,156 in 1878, when municipal outdoor relief was discontinued. At once the amount of poor relief began to decline and by 1890 had gone down to \$390,353. This was a reduction of more than one million dollars in the period 1879 to 1890 from the amount that was expended in the period from 1867 to 1878.

Boston still gives public outdoor relief. There, too, the amount has been decreasing. Between 1880 and 1907 the amount declined from about \$80,000 to about \$66,000 and the number of families aided from 6,627

to 2,060, while at the same time the average amount given annually per family increased from \$12.12 to \$32.07. There is a division of opinion among the people of Boston as to whether it would not be better to discontinue public outdoor relief entirely in that city.

The experience of Buffalo is very instructive as illustrating the coöperation of the public authorities and the private charitable societies. Buffalo still gives public outdoor relief, but all applications for it are now investigated by the Buffalo Charity Organization Society. In 1876 more than 1 in 10 of the total population was receiving outdoor city aid; in 1907 less than 1 in 100 were being thus assisted. The first decline from about \$112,000 in 1876 to \$29,000 in 1880 was due to the substitution of investigated for uninvestigated city aid, but the amount was again tremendously increased. The second drop from \$118,000 in 1898 to \$38,000 in 1902 was due to a vigorous attempt to develop constructive work as a substitute for charity among the poor.

If the experience of these cities agree in teaching any one lesson it is that public outdoor relief in great cities is an exceedingly difficult public function to perform without corruption, inefficiency and the pauperization of the poor and at the same time with efficient aid that leads to self-support.

In conclusion it may be said with respect to public outdoor relief that in country places, in the absence of other adequate relief, under the favorable conditions

found there, that, notwithstanding the serious faults now found in many states, the experience of at least one state shows that such at-home assistance can be given with a minimum of harm. But that in the great cities with much wealth in the hands of private charity, with the peculiar problems of population, and with the difficulties and tradition of municipal administration in the United States, and judged by the experience of American cities, the weight of argument is against public outdoor relief.

The Almshouse and Its Inmates

In the older settled states nearly every county, and in the newer settled states most of the counties have a "poor house" variously called almshouse, poor asylum, infirmary, or county home. In many cases the almshouse is still a veritable charity catch-all, where are found not only the aged infirm poor, but insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, inebriate, and even children. In 1903 there were enumerated 81,764 paupers in almshouses, of whom 79 per cent were reported as defectives; 10.3 per cent being insane; 20.2 per cent feeble-minded; 6.1 per cent epileptic, blind, deaf; 21.1 per cent paralytic, rheumatic, crippled; 18.3 per cent aged, infirm, bed-ridden; 2.5 per cent children. There has been no later analysis of the general almshouse population of the county.

About the middle of the last century the development of special institutions for the special classes then

found in the almshouses began and there is reason to believe that it has operated to reduce the heterogeneity of the almshouse population since 1903, the date when the latest analysis was made. Blind or deaf persons of teachable age were the first to be taken out of the almshouse to public educational institutions. In the "sixties" began the building of lunatic asylums, as they were at first generally called, and the removal of that class from the almshouse. Notwithstanding the large number of well filled hospitals for the insane, much needs to be done yet in taking these unfortunates from the almshouse, where shocking conditions still exist, as recent studies in various localities prove. In the "nineties" the movement began to separate the feeble-minded and the epileptic from the aged and infirm. There is not greater reason for having hospitals for the insane than for having institutions for the feeble-minded and the epileptic. They need special provision, the public good demands it and the almshouse cannot provide it. Ohio in 1893 and Missouri in 1899 led the way, followed by New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and other states.

In 1871 Michigan established a state school for dependent children intended to prevent their commitment to an almshouse. In 1875 New York passed a law making it illegal to detain a child over three years of age in an almshouse. In 1876 Wisconsin forbade the keeping of children between the ages of 5 and 15

years, inclusive, in almshouses. Other states have followed these examples. It is exceedingly important that children be not kept in an almshouse, as they are so imitative, need the association of superior characters, examples of work and efficiency, real home life, and good school privileges—things they can not have in the almshouse.

Most almshouses are located on a farm quite generally owned by the county. The earlier idea was to have a large county poor farm so that the inmates might work the farm and be in a measure self-supporting. It came about that most of these farms were remote and often rather inaccessible from the county seat or other town. The later idea is that a small farm with garden and truck patches is more suitable for the labor of aged paupers and for many obvious reasons should be near some town, preferably the county seat.

It is impossible properly to separate the inmates of the almshouses if all kinds of dependents and defectives are admitted. If there are only the aged infirm found there they can and should be classed and especially provided for according to sex and health. If possible they should be grouped according to their mental and moral condition, and in some sections of the country separate provisions should be made for colored and white.

The county farm and almshouse should be operated by a salaried superintendent, not leased to a tenant whose duty is only partly to care for the poor, and

who is under the necessity of getting as much work out of them as possible. The "keep" of the county paupers should not be let to the lowest bidder, as this will almost certainly mean the poorest service of the poorest method of care.

The Care of the Sick

The federal government is engaged more in the prevention of sickness than in caring for the sick. It does maintain hospitals for the army and navy but not for the general public. But where and when the public health is in danger the government spares no pains to prevent the spread of a scourge and to remove insanitary conditions, as after a great flood or fire.

The physical and medical inspection of aliens seeking admission to this country and the quarantine rules governing the entrance of any person through the ports of the country are for the protection of the public health. Likewise the passage and enforcement of pure food laws by the United States are justified on the ground of public health.

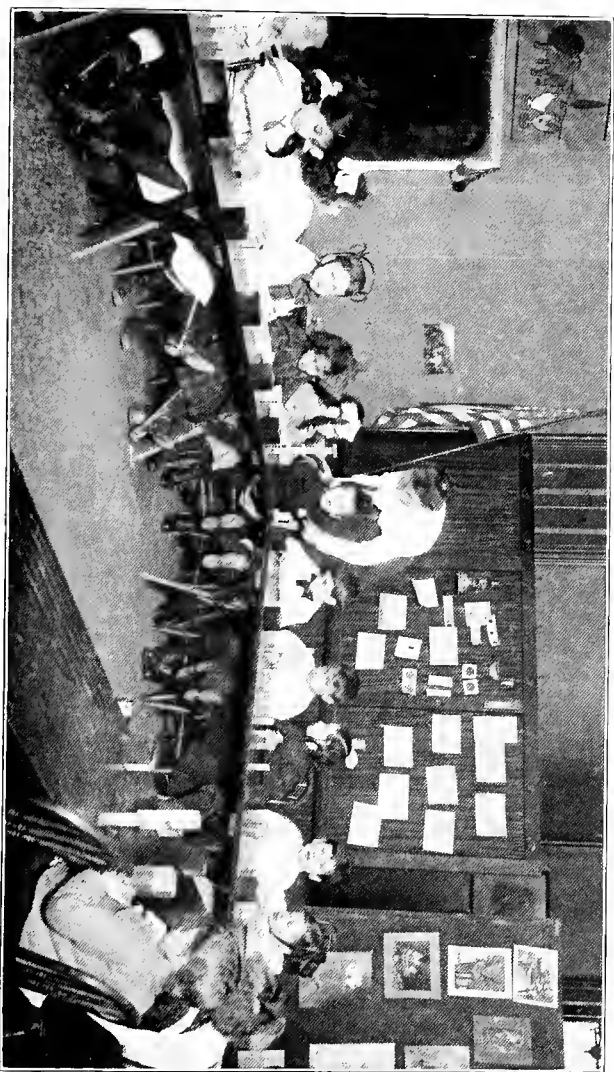
The several commonwealths also have pure food laws and in many of them the work is very efficient. Some have state boards of health, but they are concerned chiefly with the control of contagious and infectious diseases, the licensing of physicians and the dissemination of vital statistics.

It is now generally conceded that employees who

may suffer accident or contract an occupational disease in the course of and because of their employment should have care and "compensation" at the expense of the concern itself or from an accident-and-sickness fund provided partly by the employer, partly by the employee and partly by the state. To a limited extent in this country, notably in Ohio and Washington, the state itself is providing for injured and sick industrials.

Neither the federal government nor the commonwealths make such provision for the sick because they are sick, but because they endanger the lives of others and by the same token it may be said they do not provide for the sick poor because they are poor. But the local governments, the county and the municipalities, do care for the sick who are too poor to care for themselves. Local public health authorities are as certainly interested in the prevention of sickness and epidemic as the federal and state authorities; but they are more interested than the latter in free care of the sick poor, the larger cities providing hospitals and dispensaries and smaller cities and the counties furnishing the "poor doctor." Many of the cities furnish free anti-toxin for diphtheria, scarlet fever and other diseases, as well as vaccine for small-pox.

In addition to general hospitals in any great city, there is need of emergency hospitals, lying-in hospitals, hospitals and sanatoria for consumptives, a contagious disease hospital and a psychopathic hospital, in all of which service should be free to the poor.



CRIPPLED BUT STILL HAPPY

A playroom maintained by the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, New York City

THE CARE OF DEFECTIVES

The Deaf

The care of the deaf is largely a problem of education. About five-eighths of the deaf are "deaf from childhood," that is, under twenty years of age. Persons who lose their hearing in adult life are frequently only partially deaf and usually are able to support themselves. Somewhat less than one-half of the deaf are totally deaf and of these the majority were either born deaf or lost their hearing under two years of age.

In most of the commonwealths will be found schools for the deaf and in some of the cities there are special schools and classes for the deaf. Formerly no attempt was made to teach the deaf child to speak and it generally passed as dumb, and was taught only the sign language and writing. But recently the deaf are being successfully taught to "read the lips" of the speaker and to answer vocally.

The prevention of deafness is largely a matter of good health and marriage. Among children the chief causes of deafness are scarlet fever, meningitis and brain fever, while among the adults catarrh and colds are the main causes. Hereditary defects come in for a large share also.

This naturally raises the question as to whether the marriage of relatives causes deafness in their offspring. The figures show that children born of parents who are cousins are more likely to be born deaf

than children of parents who are not cousins, but a closer analysis of the figures shows that this greater probability of deafness is not because of blood relationship but because the marriage of persons of the same line of descent is likely to reinforce existing tendencies toward defectiveness which may manifest themselves in deafness.

Another question is frequently asked, viz.: Are the children of deaf parents likely to be deaf? There can be no doubt that they are, especially if the parents are deaf by inheritance. Indeed it has been established that in many cases deafness is transmitted to offspring. More will be said about the inheritance of defectiveness under the subject of the "feebleminded."

The Blind

Blindness is an affliction chiefly of old age. Only about ten per cent of the blind are of school age. The care of the blind is therefore both a matter of charitable care and of elementary and general education and occupational training. As in the case of the deaf, many of the states have schools for the blind and in some cities there are special classes for the blind in the public schools, while many a sightless child is now educated in the same classes with sighted children. Books in raised type that the blind read by running their fingers over the words are quite common in public libraries and are sent through the mails without postage charges.

For those who lose their sight in adult life, but not in old age, there is the problem of training them for self-support under their great handicap. The range of occupations they can learn and carry on successfully is rather limited. Moreover, the methods of manufacture change so and the use of machinery is so general that the demand for articles the blind can make is rather precarious and the problem of finding a market for the goods is always a difficult one. Blindness coming upon an adult as a rule handicaps his earning power by one-half or more.

A few of the states, notably Massachusetts and Ohio, have state commissions for the blind whose general duties are to maintain a registry of the blind and a bureau of information and industry, to conduct training schools and workshops, and to do home visiting and teaching of the blind.

The prevention of blindness reduces itself to three main problems, the proper care of the eyes of the newborn baby, the elimination of dangerous explosives and sharp-pointed articles in play, and the protection of workers from accidents and poisons that would injure or destroy the sight.

"Compensation" for industrial accidents should reduce the amount of blindness among employees. The loss of one or both eyes is one of the accidents for which the employer is required to pay the largest amount under recent compensation laws. Laws requiring safety devices are being passed and safety in-

ventions are multiplying so that progress should soon record itself in the reduction of the number of industrial accidents fatal to sight. Efforts are being made to prevent the use of wood alcohol in industry because it may cause blindness.

The Insane

More money is spent by the states in the care of the insane than in the care of any other class of defectives. Some of the commonwealths spend a fifth of their revenue upon the insane. Great institutions for this unfortunate class are found in nearly every state of the union, and it is not uncommon to find four or five such in one state. In one state, Wisconsin, there are several county or district hospitals for the insane. In the larger cities there are municipal hospitals for the insane.

In 1903 there were almost 162,000 insane enumerated in public and private asylums and in almshouses. Two hundred thousand is a conservative estimate of the number a decade later.

The insane are increasing faster than the general population. Out of every 100,000 population 183 were insane in 1880; 170 in 1890; 200 in 1903. This increase is accounted for partly by the more inclusiveness of the term, partly by the more complete enumerations, and partly by the fact that with the present better care the insane live longer than formerly. But after allowance has been made for all these things the

facts lead to but one conclusion, that insanity is increasing faster than the general population.

There is no generally accepted list of the causes of insanity. Some of the state hospitals tabulate the reported cause in the admissions. For example, the New York hospitals give the chief causes as in the following order: intemperance, hereditary influences, mental strain and overwork, old age, adverse business affairs, venereal diseases, epilepsy. Recent investigations, however, seem to show that syphilis causes about one-sixth of the insanity among men and about one-twelfth of that among women. Studies in heredity suggest that a larger proportion of the cases of insanity are the result of a weak or degenerating inheritance than was formerly supposed. It seems reasonable that the complexity and strain of modern business and social life and the fact that a larger proportion of people make their living by their wits than formerly would cause a higher ratio of insanity.

There are two main types of institutions for the insane, the congregate and the cottage plans. The former consists of a great central building partly or wholly given to administration and large buildings or wings arranged on the side with the patients classified in wards with common dining rooms and great dormitories. The latter plan consists of an administration building with small buildings—cottages—grouped about it, the patients grouped by cottages and having small dining rooms and dormitories. As a rule the

congregate plan costs somewhat less per capita for operation, but it is reasonably claimed that the care is more individual and successful under the cottage plan.

One of the essentials of any good hospital for the insane is a psychopathic ward or preferably cottage. Here incoming patients should be detained and observed. To such an observation building persons should be free to commit themselves for safety, expert diagnosis, guidance, and convalescence from mental strain.

In not a few hospitals patients may be received on their own volition. But in most cases admissions are by public authority. The procedure varies. The oldest and poorest way is to commit after trial by jury without medical testimony. In some cases the jury hears medical evidence. A better practice is to have the commitment made on physicians' certificates, the court recording the fact.

The treatment of the insane has undergone a remarkable change. Formerly they were either neglected or collected in "asylums" and fed. Now they are cared for in hospitals and have the most skillful service that the state can command and all the curative and preventive treatment known to modern science. The most hopeful aspect, however, is in the early care of mental disturbance, the reduction of syphilis and inebriety and the prevention of reproduction by known neurotic and degenerate persons.

The employment of the insane while detained in an institution has strong curative power. Boarding-out

harmless chronic cases is successfully carried on in Massachusetts. After care of the insane is extremely important to make the results of curative treatment permanent.

Thirteen children are working in stores without working papers, though entitled to them.

The Feeble-minded

The term "feeble-minded" has come to be used in the United States to include all degrees of mental backwardness from the idiot who has almost no mind at all to the mentally backward or mentally feeble child. Dr. Martin W. Barr, Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble Minded Children, gives the following classification of the feeble-minded together with their power to learn and directions as to their proper care: the idiot, improvable in self-help only and requiring continual asylum care; the idio-imbecile, trainable in self-help and in helpfulness to others to a limited degree, and requiring continual asylum care; the moral imbecile, trainable in industrial and manual occupations and to a limited extent in intellectual pursuits and requiring custodial and continual guardianship; the imbecile, trainable to a limited degree in manual arts and intellectual activities, requiring long apprenticeship and colony life under protection; the mentally-feeble, with slow though not abnormal mental processes, must be trained for a place in the world.

Dr. Henry H. Goddard, in charge of the research laboratories in the Training School at Vineland, New Jersey, has distinguished and given a permanent place in the literature of the subject, a type which he calls the moron, a child in mentality and will power, a grown-up in passions and physique, in appearance almost normal.

It is impossible to tell the number of feeble-minded in the United States, especially if all grades are included. In 1880, 76,895 persons were returned by the United States Census as feeble-minded. In 1890, 95,609, less than one-thirteenth of whom were in institutions and almshouses. In 1903 there were 30,898 such persons enumerated in institutions and almshouses. If there were thirteen times as many all told, there would be almost 400,000. It is probably conservative to say there are about 300,000 obviously feeble-minded persons in the United States at the present time. If to this number were added the mentally feeble the number would be increased several fold.

It is impossible from figures at hand to say whether the feeble-minded are increasing faster than the general population, but there are grave fears that such is the case.

There can no longer be any doubt that feeble-mindedness is inherited, but what proportion is thus caused has not yet been finally determined. There is much evidence that seems to show that feeble-mindedness in children may be but the expression of an inherited de-

generacy. Recent discoveries suggest that arrested development in children may be due to the presence in the tissue of the central nervous system of the germ of syphilis which may have come as an infection, or conceivably as an inheritance, from a parent.

The lowering of the death rate of children from serious illnesses, especially from nervous disorders, has probably increased the proportion of children with limitations and defects especially of a mental character.

The greatest problem in the care of the feeble-minded is the prevention of their reproduction. During the reproductive years the feeble-minded should be segregated. This is especially true of the moral imbecile and the moron. Some advocate their sterilization, but at present public sentiment will not support such radical measures, if indeed it ever comes to be justifiable, except in certain types of cases where it appears not only that no harm but really good health follows the operation. But preventing the reproduction by the feeble-minded by means of segregation and sterilization would not free the people entirely from the burden of feeble-mindedness because the offspring of other neurotics show a tendency to be feeble-minded. It is a part of the problem of negative eugenics, the prevention of the matings of the unfit.

Formerly the chief effort in the care of the feeble-minded was to train them. But it is becoming clearer that for many of them such training is fruitless and the great problem is that of asylum and custodial care.

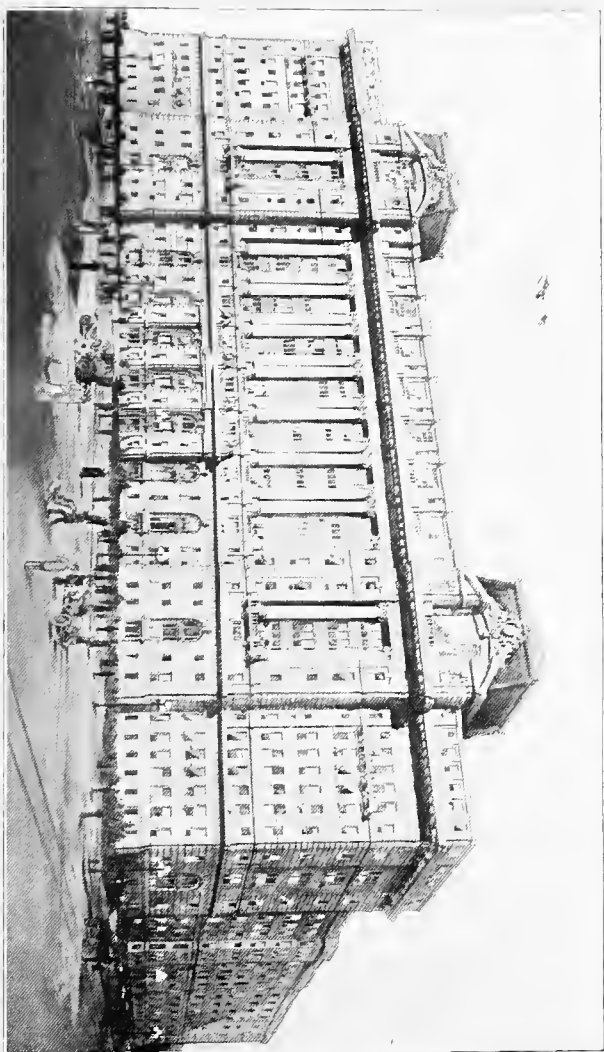
For those who are normal but slow, special classes and individual instruction especially in manual arts by active methods are necessary.

Formerly quite generally and even now all too often the feeble-minded are kept in the almshouse or in the insane asylum. A few of the states have special institutions for feeble-minded youth, but very much remains to be done toward separating this class of defectives from other classes and from the general population.

Epileptics

Epileptics have not been listed by the Census Bureau as a separate class of defectives. It is impossible to give any statement of the total number of epileptics either in institutions or in the general population. Special studies and limited statistics put the number from 1 to 3 per 1,000 of the population.

Epilepsy is so strikingly well known as not to be easily mistaken, but its cause is not well understood and its cure is exceedingly difficult. Heredity is perhaps the chief direct and perpetuating cause, but intemperance and syphilis are contributing causes; while falls, blows, wounds, irruptive fevers and malnutrition are frequent exciting causes. If cases have early and good treatment from five per cent to ten per cent of them can be cured with the present understanding of the disease. There seems to be a progressive degeneration with the disease so that it is almost impossible to cure it when advanced.



NEW COOK COUNTY HOSPITAL, CHICAGO, ILL.

The first requisite in the care of the epileptic is that they should be separated from the insane. They can be put to work more than can the insane. They are usually more excitable than the insane and tend by reason of this to cause trouble, while their fits tend greatly to excite many of the insane. In some states the epileptic and feeble-minded are kept in the same institution. This is objectionable and should not be done if there are enough of each class to justify an institution for each.

The best type of institution for the epileptic is the "colony." The ideal colony should provide simple life in homelike cottages, where the individuality of the patient can be preserved; it should provide vocations of all kinds and degrees; it should have amusements and give all freedom consistent with safety.

It is difficult to appreciate the value of agricultural life to the epileptic. He produces just the kind of things he needs most for his own healthful diet and does it on a minimum cost to the state. Some should be taught trades, for which shops are necessary.

The buildings should include also an administration building, small cottages for the best class of cases, somewhat larger ones for the middle class of cases, and infirmaries for the bed-ridden and other helpless cases.

The Craig Colony at Sonyea, New York, is one of the best colonies, but Ohio, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Missouri, Indiana, and a few other states have also established such special institutions for the epileptic.

Inebriates

By many it is believed that intemperance is the main cause of poverty. But the most careful studies place the proportion of dependence directly traceable to drunkenness at from one-fifth to one-fourth, while from one-fourth to one-third may be traced directly or indirectly to it. Drunkenness is a cause of crime rather than of poverty. It is so intimately associated with poverty, vice, crime, gambling, sickness, and bad heredity that there are few more important tasks than the prevention of drunkenness.

Little attention was paid to public drunkenness in the earlier part of the 19th century. More recently it has been considered a misdemeanor, especially when accompanied by disorderly conduct. Under the system of fines for drunkenness those who have money go free and those who have not are locked up and supported at the expense of the city, while often the family has to be helped by charity. Furthermore, incarceration in idleness does the man no good. In a few places employment for short term prisoners has been provided, and in a still smaller number of places a part of their earnings go to the families dependent upon them for support.

The conviction is growing among medical men that drunkenness is often due to some bad physical condition and that inebriety is a disease. In conformity to this idea the more modern care of the inebriate includes

hospital care. Massachusetts, Iowa, and a few other states have established such hospitals.

In the care of these unfortunates it is extremely important to classify them and to deal with them individually. The Massachusetts hospital classifies the inmates into the recent or curable type, which requires medical care; the chronic drunkard, who is not of evil repute, who should have long custodial life in a colony, and the incorrigible drunkard, who often has a criminal record, who should be forcibly detained in a labor colony or prison. (See *The Organized Liquor Traffic*, Vol. VII, p. 1760.)

STATE CARE OF DELINQUENTS

Dealing With the Offender

When one is arrested he is taken as soon as possible before some court of competent jurisdiction and, if there is sufficient evidence of guilt, is either remanded to jail or released on bail to await trial. If he is then found guilty of a misdemeanor he may receive a short jail sentence or fine, or both. If he is found guilty of a felony he may be sentenced to prison for a longer term, and, for murder in the first degree, may be put to death in most of the states. In all save capital crimes the prisoner, if he is young, usually under 30 years, may be sent to a reformatory in a goodly number of the states. If the offender is under 16 years of age, in most states, he is put on probation, usually under the

oversight of a probation officer attached to the court. Older persons are likely to be put on probation for minor, or for first offenses.

There are three fairly distinct stages in the development of the prison system in the United States. In the first stage punishment was the dominating purpose; in the second, reformation; in the third, prevention. The difference between the first and second stages is well shown by the difference between their respective institutions, the penitentiary and the reformatory.

In general exterior the two institutions may be much alike, but the difference between them may be as the difference between night and day. The penitentiary exists for the punishment, the reformatory for the reformation of the offender. The former is dedicated to the principle that penalties can be measured out to compensate for pains and that justice demands that the guilty must pay the penalty. The latter is dedicated to the principle that the transgressor can be reclaimed and that society must invoke those measures necessary to accomplish this. The former deprives him of all the liberty it can and sets him on hard labor for the state. The latter gives him all the liberty it can consistent with public safety and teaches him a trade, both for the saving and economic value. In the former cells and bars are strikingly in evidence; in the latter open shops and work benches are characteristic.

Previous to 1870 all prisons in the United States

were conducted as penitentiaries, but such punishment left it anything but convincing that it reformed the criminal or deterred other men from crime.

As the men themselves came to be considered, it became clearer and clearer that many of the younger ones were not only not improved, but were contaminated and corrupted by incarceration and the association with worse men. Accordingly a separate institution for the younger men has been established in a number of the states. First among these in point of time, and possibly in point of excellence, is the Elmira Reformatory, which was opened at Elmira, New York, in 1875.

The indeterminate sentence, under which a man is sentenced usually for not less than a stated term and not more than a stated longer term, is a corollary of the general principle of reformation. If a trial judge can not exactly balance pains and penalties, neither can he know in advance the exact day on which a man may be prepared again to enter the normal relationships of society. The superintendent of the reformatory and his advisory board can better judge of this when it shall have come about, and sentence should, therefore, be indeterminate, within limits.

Mr. Barrows has well said, "It is one of the cardinal maxims of the reformatory system that criminals who are submitted to its regime shall not be released as long as there are well-founded indications that the release of the offender will be dangerous to society. The inde-

terminate sentence which is absolutely necessary for the reformatory system, while it furnishes stimulus and inspiration to the prisoner, protects society against the release of those who have not fairly proved their capacity to live as honest law-abiding citizens. And when the release is made it is made tentatively under a system of conditional liberation (or parole as it is often called) so that the criminal may be returned to the reformatory if his conduct is found unsatisfactory.” *

But we are now finding that the reformatory age-group, 16 to 30 years, should again be divided. The juvenile courts, as a rule, have jurisdiction over delinquents 16 years of age and under. These are either put on probation or sent to some type of industrial school. But there is need of an intermediate reformatory for offenders from 16 to 20 or 21 years of age.

There should be separate reformatories for men and women. For the upper-age reformatory group the Bedford Reformatory for Women in New York is probably the best.

The third step in the development of our system of penology is that of prevention. It was for a long time the great efforts of courts rightly to combine punishment and reformation. Not until recently has the machinery of justice been directed to the prevention of crime. The older system locked a man up so he could not commit a second or a third crime; the later system

* “The Reformatory System in the United States,” page 9.

reformed the man that he would not commit a second or a third crime; but the role of prevention is to keep one from committing a first offense.

It is evident that if any are to be saved from a first offense it is the youth. Hence the courts that are given to the prevention of crime are juvenile courts or children's courts. The juvenile court is the legal embodiment of the old adage that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. If it is good to keep a boy from committing a second offense is it not better to keep him from committing the first one? The juvenile court is the affirmative answer to that question. Judge Tuthill lays down as the basic principle of the juvenile court the following: "No child under 16 years of age shall be considered or treated as a criminal; a child under that age shall not be arrested, indicted, convicted, imprisoned, or punished as a criminal. The idea of punishment is eliminated. The facts are considered merely as evidence tending to show whether the boy is in a condition of delinquency so that the state standing *loco parentis* to the child ought to enter upon the exercise of its parental care over him."

Judge Lindsey says of the juvenile court, "Its purpose is, of course, to prevent crime before crime is actually committed, to correct, to aid, and to assist those who might be criminals or who might do a criminal act, to avoid falling into either misfortune."

Judge Murphy of Buffalo says: "To save children

from lifelong consequences of childish errors, to check their feet at the very entrance of the downward road and to set them upon the gently graded pathway leading to usefulness and happiness, to let them expiate a fault at their own homes under surveillance of kindly probation officers, and to accomplish these ends without the publicity that tends to blast later attempts at well-doing, as well as to save young souls from the taint of contact with matured criminals, these were the purposes sought to be accomplished in the establishment of the juvenile court."

The two characteristics of a juvenile court are the separate trial for children and the oversight of the child by the probation officer. The authority for trying children separate from adults has long been found in the general statutes of many of the states. Under this authority children's courts were held in New York, Indiana, Colorado, and in other states. The first special juvenile court law was enacted in Illinois in 1899, and the juvenile court in Cook County (Chicago), established under that law, is the oldest one in the United States.

Although probation officers are a practical necessity in the care of juvenile offenders, they are not everywhere provided for in the laws and by public funds—in fact, in all the earlier courts the probation officers were at first either entirely voluntary or were paid from private funds. More recently, however, nearly

all acts creating juvenile courts also provide probation officers to be paid from public funds. In most courts probation officers are now appointed after special examination.

The Juvenile Court has proved to be a most important and effective agency not only in the upbringing of delinquent children but also in the care, placing out, and supervision of dependent children, jurisdiction over these also residing in the juvenile court in many states. In Chicago the administration of "funds to parents" belongs to the juvenile court.

One of the most recent tendencies in the operation of the juvenile court to prevent crime is the practice of psycho-physical examination of children who come before the court. There can be no question that many of these unhappy children are not normal, being often subnormal in mental development and having physical abnormalities or unsoundness. Percentages of abnormality among juvenile offenders that seem very extravagant are published by those who are pioneering in this field. It is certainly true that more than half of those examined by the authority of the juvenile court in Chicago show some physical or mental peculiarity. Similar examinations of school children have found almost equally high percentages. It has not been conclusively proved that these variations are the causes of the offenses by children, but a high probability that such is the case has been established.

The Extent and Cost of Crime

It is impossible to state exactly the amount of crime in the United States or its cost. Census figures may give the number of prisoners on a given date, but that would not show how many different prisoners there had been in a given period of time, as a year. Even if the number of arrests in a year were known, or the number of convictions, these figures would not reveal the extent of crime. For many who commit crimes are not arrested and many who are guilty are not convicted. It is a popular belief also that many violations of the laws are never discovered and that many acts are done that may not come within the legal definition of felonies and misdemeanors, but are nevertheless quite as unjust and vicious.

It may be worth while, however, to recall that on June 30, 1904, there were 81,772 prisoners above the age of five years serving sentences in penitentiary, reformatory, or jail, and in addition 23,034 children were found in the juvenile reformatories of the United States. It is not known how many others were in jails or lockups awaiting trial, or how many were on probation or parole on that date.

One of the questions most frequently asked about crime is whether it is increasing absolutely, and faster than the population. This question is also difficult to answer. Census figures and special studies seem to show that serious crimes are not increasing, although

they do not show any decrease in the United States, if one may judge from the numbers of persons serving time in penitentiaries—the place where the more serious crimes are expiated.

When minor crimes are considered the statistics are so unsatisfactory that it is perhaps unwise to use them. It is not the number of offenses that people really want to know when they ask about the increase of crime. What they really want to know is whether people are more or less law-abiding, or are worse or better than formerly. It will at once be evident that offenses may multiply simply because the kinds of acts that are punishable as crimes may be made more numerous by legislation. In 1879 in one of the commonwealths 158 offenses were crimes as defined in the criminal code, while in another only 108 were so defined. The rapid introduction of the automobile as a means of traffic and the collection of great numbers of people in cities have called for elaborate regulations of traffic and a consequent increase in the occasions for offense.

The enforcement or non-enforcement of the laws also accounts in some measure for the variations in statistics of crime. For example, the enforcement of the laws regulating drunkenness and vice varies so from time to time—and in fact the laws themselves may so change—that changes in the number of persons apprehended for these offenses do not necessarily show that people are more or are less intemperate or immoral.

The total number of sentences for all classes of crimes in Massachusetts as compared with the total population of the state varied greatly during the period from 1860 to 1880, a great increase being especially noticeable between 1865 and 1875, followed by a distinct decline. An examination of the figures for the different classes of crime shows that whereas the ratio remained almost constant for high crimes, the ratio for drunkenness varied so as to account for almost the entire variation in the ratio of all crimes to the total population. It does not seem reasonable that the people of Massachusetts went on a debauch from 1865 to 1875.

As might have been expected, the explanation of the great increase in the number of sentences for drunkenness is found in the corresponding history and enforcement of legislation relative to the alcoholic liquor traffic, according to Carroll D. Wright. He says:

"In Massachusetts the prohibitory law of 1855 gave place to a license law in 1868. It was the vigorous prosecution of 1866 and 1867 under the prohibitory law which caused the number of sentences to increase, and this very increase led to the license law of 1868; but the friends of a license law insisted upon the vigorous enforcement, and such enforcement carried the number of liquor convictions of all grades still higher, when another popular reaction caused the reënactment of the prohibitory law which went into effect July 1, 1869, and under this the statistics for drunkenness and liquor offences went to their highest points in 1872 and 1873. . . . From that year, either through the effect of the repeal of the beer law, or of a waning interest in the prohibitory law, resulting in a decreased vigilance on the part

of the officers in its enforcement and in prosecutions, the number of crimes dropped till 1875, when the prohibitory law was repealed. From 1876 to the end of the term under discussion (1879) there was a constant decrease in the number of sentences." *

Criminal statistics for the United Kingdom and for continental countries that are more nearly adequate than our own, where conditions are more settled, and the execution of the law more uniform, show a steady and satisfactory decrease of crime. In the United States frontier conditions are still found in many places, unlike races are hurriedly jostled together, great numbers of people, including millions of aliens, are crowded into cities. Thus the occasions of offense multiply, and it would not be surprising if more crimes are committed than formerly, but it does not necessarily follow that men are more intemperate, immoral, predatory, or violent.

The Causes and Prevention of Crime

The simplest classification of the causes of crime is into objective and subjective causes, the former including the physical and social environment and the latter including the biological and physiological characteristics and conditions of the person himself. While this is a convenient classification, it should not be insisted on unduly that the two classes are entirely exclusive.

On the one hand crimes against the person are more frequent in the spring and summer than in autumn and

* "Practical Sociology," p. 355.

winter, as though the seasons were factors in the amount of crime against persons. The same is true as between hot and cold climates. On the other hand, crimes against property are more frequent in the colder months of the year than in the warmer ones. Likewise in colder climates than in warmer ones.

If one may judge from the reports of the juvenile courts and reform schools, the death or desertion of one parent and the demoralization of home life through drink and laziness, if not the causes of, are at least the conditions from which spring much juvenile delinquency—from two-thirds to three-fourths of it. Crimes increase with unemployment, partly for want of the necessities of life, partly on account of friction—as in strikes and lockouts—and partly on the principle that Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do. It has been said above that the congregation and congestion of great numbers of diverse people in cities cause crimes to increase, and by the same token it may be said they are, if not the cause, at least the conditions of crime.

Uncertain and tardy prosecution of crimes are generally admitted to be encouragements to crime. The seeming ability of shrewd lawyers for wealthy or powerful clients to delay and even to defeat justice may reasonably be regarded as emboldening some to offend the laws. The housing of first offenders with hardened criminals cause repeated crimes. Vivid publicity con-

cerning crimes, such as robbery and suicide, especially by poison and spectacular self-destruction, are doubtless conducive to crime, for crime is often a matter of suggestion and imitation. The carrying of concealed weapons increases homicide.

Nine times as many men are convicted of crimes as women, although their numbers are approximately equal in the population. One-half of all the convicts in state prisons of the United States are under twenty-six years of age, while practically all those in reformatories are under that age.

Intemperance causes directly or indirectly approximately one-half of the crimes of the country. Intemperance itself may be due to a number of causes, such as hard and exhausting labor; social customs of the saloon; temperamental instability that may have its physical basis either in some hereditary condition or some arrested development. Crime is probably often the incidental expression of some weakness or degeneracy that might, and probably did under other circumstances, express itself in drunkenness, immorality, insanity, or some other neurotic variation. It is estimated on the basis of limited examinations that about twenty-five per cent of the persons in the penal institutions of the United States are feeble-minded, and that from thirty-five per cent to sixty per cent of the young women in different reformatories are feeble-minded.

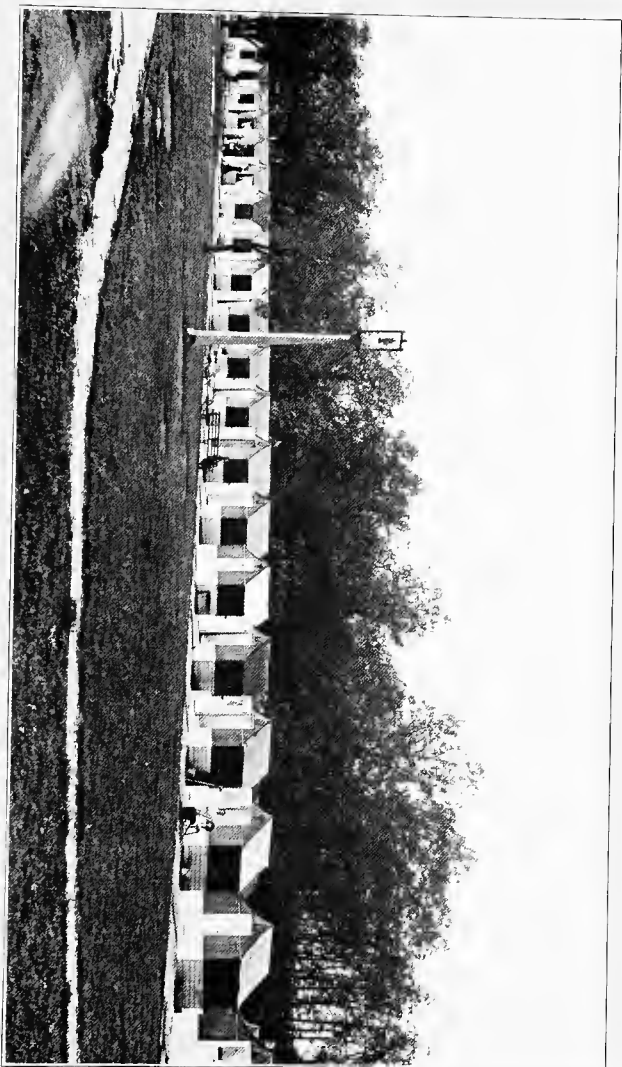
A review of the several causes of crime enumerated

above suggests the main provisions necessary in the prevention of crime. Whatever insures the integrity of the family and promotes home life will tend to prevent crime. The loss of the husband through death is preventable in a degree, especially when the cause of death is tuberculosis, industrial accident, or occupational disease. More stringent laws against desertion and non-support, including a law making wife and child desertion an extraditable offense, would also be a preventative of crime.

Whatever may be done to regularize employment throughout the seasons and through periods of time, whatever will prevent strikes and lockouts or promote their speedy settlement, will operate to prevent crime. Manual training, industrial and trade instruction that make men efficient and secure for them good wages may also be factors in the prevention of crime. The prevention of child labor, the restriction of the hours of work, and the improvement of the conditions of labor should operate in the same direction.

An adequate police system, courts that command the respect of the people, with dockets not overcrowded, and well lighted streets and alleys should reduce the number of violations of law in great cities.

The experience of European countries, especially England, shows that when the administration of the courts is sure and impartial, and when judgment follows swift upon the offense, then men are deterred



WOMEN'S OUTDOOR COLONY

Modern method of handling Tuberculosis patients at Oak Forest Infirmary, Illinois

from crime. If American courts were characterized in like manner crimes in the United States would doubtless be reduced. Separate places of detention should be provided for first offenders and hardened criminals, and upon conviction if a first offender cannot be put upon probation he should not be committed to the same institution with the hardened offender.

It should not be unreasonable to expect that the newspapers and the motion pictures, once fully convinced that certain publicity is conducive to the commission of crime, should limit, if they did not entirely eliminate, vivid stories of crime which now act as a suggestion of similar acts by others. In many places the carrying of concealed weapons is unlawful. The extension of this law to all places would doubtless reduce the number of homicides.

Inasmuch as drunkenness is a cause of crime, that which prevents intemperance tends to reduce crime. Reasonable hours, conditions and exactions of labor; the prohibition of drinking by employees, especially those in public service corporations and those employed in public works; the most approved control of the liquor traffic, substitutes for the saloon—these should reduce at the same time both intemperance and crime.

The sterilization of hardened criminals and grave sex offenders, it is believed by many, would both reduce the number of crimes committed and promote the well-being of those affected. The authorization of

such practice exists in a limited number of the commonwealths, but is very little used. The insane criminal should be separated from other insane and other criminals and cared for permanently in an appropriate hospital. Persons guilty of crime, but known to be feeble-minded, and therefore irresponsible, should nevertheless be committed to a special institution and there detained that they may not commit further offenses, that they may be properly cared for, and may not reproduce after their kind. Eugenics, which is the program of improving the hereditary qualities of the race, should be of great service in the prevention of crime, discouraging the mating of the unfit and encouraging the bearing of children by the sound and fit.

In addition to these agencies and efforts for the prevention of crime, a state should have a complete prison system which would at the same time both prevent crime and punish and reform the criminal. Professor Ellwood gives the following* splendid list of institutions necessary to deal with the criminal class:

1. County and city jails for the detention of offenders awaiting trial.
2. Reform schools for delinquent children under sixteen years of age who require institutional treatment.
3. Industrial reformatories for adult first offenders between sixteen and thirty years of age who require institutional treatment.

* "Sociology and Modern Social Problems," p. 292.

4. Special reformatories for vagrants, inebriates, and prostitutes.
5. A hospital prison for the criminal insane.
6. County and state penitentiaries for incorrigible, hardened criminals.

Supervision and Management

Little has thus far been said about the supervision and management of the agencies of state aid to unfortunates. It is perfectly obvious that there must be some boards or commissions to which these duties must be entrusted. So far as the commonwealths are concerned there are two general plans of control. There is a third plan which is a mixture of the two.

Under one of these plans each state institution has a local board of managers responsible for the fiscal and other management of the institution. In most of the states having this plan there is a general board of charities variously called State Board of Charities, Board of State Charities, etc., which has only powers of inspection, recommendation, and advice. Members of both the local and the general boards usually serve without pay, their necessary expenses being paid. Indiana is a good illustration of this type of control.

Under the other general plan the actual control of the institutions, fiscal and otherwise, rests with a central board, usually called a board of control. The sev-

eral institutions may or may not have a local advisory board; usually they do not have. Members of the board of control receive salaries. Under the former plan the responsibility rests with the local boards and the advisory duties rest with the central board. Under the latter plan the responsibility rests with the central board. Iowa is a good illustration of this plan.

The mixed plan, as in Illinois, consists of a general board of salaried members with control over purchase of supplies and accounting; and a general board of unsalaried persons with advisory duties. In New York there is a mixed system. There are the State Board of Charities and the State Commission of Prisons with the powers of inspectors and recommendation. There are also the State Commission in Lunacy, the Fiscal Supervisor of State Charities, and the State Superintendent of Prisons, with responsible control of their several classes of institutions with respect to purchases, accounting, etc.

It is an open question as to which of the two plans is the better. More of the states have the advisory board than have the board of control. The states with the greatest systems of charitable and correctional institutions have the advisory board. In general it may be said that neither plan is entirely satisfactory. There is very little difference in the per capita cost of the institutions under the two plans. Neither plan gives, in fact, expert service in the major problems of institu-

tional management. It is not very difficult for a board of control to devise a good system of purchase, handling, and accounting of supplies—although there is reason to believe that much remains to be done in that regard. Neither is it difficult for a local board of managers to run its own institution according to traditions or to generally accepted standards. But neither plan gives to superintendents and managers the expert assistance they should have.

A state board of control does not have fiscal and administrative control over county and municipal institutions, and unless there is some advisory board these local institutions have no assistance from a general board, yet they are in most cases more in need of it than are the state institutions. One of the important functions of an advisory state board is the inspection of private charitable societies and a measure of control over their licensing, incorporation, and standards of work. On these matters a state board of control, being primarily an administrative and fiscal board, could naturally be of little assistance.

After all, good results may be secured under either plan, provided the right men are on the boards. Iowa has secured good control under the one plan largely because of the high grade of men who have been members of the board almost from the beginning. Indiana has secured unusual results under the other plan chiefly because of the unusually good men on the board.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW, PART IV

1. *What classes are included among dependents? Among defectives? Among delinquents? Sum up the program of caring for the illegitimate child.*

2. *What are the differences between the "congregate" and the "cottage" plan of an institution? What principle was announced by the White House Conference with respect to "home care"?*

3. *What are the purposes of the Federal Children's Bureau? What are the arguments in favor of public funds for widowed mothers? What in opposition?*

4. *What is public outdoor relief? Contrast public outdoor relief in Indiana and Missouri?*

5. *Describe the "drafting off" process by which the various classes of people have been taken from the almshouse. What are the essentials of a good county poor farm and almshouse and their management?*

6. *What are the main problems in the prevention of blindness? What are the causes of insanity? How are patients admitted to hospitals for the insane?*

7. *Give Dr. Barr's classification of the feeble-minded and his judgment as to the trainability and care of each class. What measures are needed to bring relief from the burden of feeble-minded?*

8. *To what extent is intemperance the cause of poverty? Of crime? Give the classification of inebriates*

used by the Massachusetts hospital for them and indicate the appropriate treatment for each class.

9. Contrast the penitentiary and the reformatory. What is the indeterminate sentence, and what are its advantages?

10. What are the purposes of the juvenile court? What is meant by probation? Why is a physical and mental examination of juvenile delinquents desirable?

11. What are the difficulties of determining the extent and cost of crime? What are the chief causes of crime and the most promising ways to prevent it?

12. What constitutes adequate public provision for dealing with the criminal class, according to Professor Ellwood? Compare the two types of state boards for charitable and correctional institutions, indicating their merits and demerits.

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. Intemperance and Immorality as Causes of Sickness and Poverty.

2. Accident Prevention and Compensation for Industrial Accidents.

3. Occupational Diseases and Industrial Insurance.

4. The Elberfeldt System of Poor Relief in Germany.

5. The Relation of Mental Defectiveness to Poverty, Vice, and Crime.

6. Eugenics, or the Social Direction of Human Evolution.

PART V

Safeguarding the Immigrant

By FRANCES A. KELLOR

FEW subjects within the last decade have so attracted the attention of women, or have offered them so fertile a field for discussion and endeavor as the need of being interested in the welfare of the immigrant on arrival. The helplessness of the newly arrived family in the face of new economic conditions, founding a home in a strange country, the handicaps of language and strange social customs and unfamiliar institutions, the peculiar helplessness of the child, so often brought here to work and lost in the maze of congested cities and intricate workshops, until he emerges to start his or her own small family—these are conditions that make a strong appeal to women whose minds and hearts are alive to the social and industrial needs of our times in this free America.

The picturesqueness of the immigrant, his traditions and old world philosophy, and his child-like faith in the new country, his responses to the opportunities, his physical strength and eagerness to learn, his willingness to be friends, make the task of safeguarding him



FUTURE WOMEN CITIZENS
Types of Women Immigrants at Ellis Island, New York

a hopeful one, and one in which women can have an unlimited share, with a reward to them far exceeding in proportion the interest and thought and energy they put in it.

In taking up the various phases of immigration for study or practical work, it should be clearly borne in mind that there are two distinct phases of immigration requiring different treatment.

I. The Restriction of Immigration

This subject includes primarily the question of how many aliens shall come in—at what ports—under what conditions, and what nationalities; who shall be permitted to stay and the length of time, and terms of their deportation if a residence here is denied them. This field, being one of governmental regulation and activity, there is little place for women's activity, except in the discussion of the subject, and in the endorsement of or opposition to bills further restricting such immigration. The organizations most actively engaged in opposing immigration, and which offer information and opportunities for service, are the Immigration Restriction League, Boston, and the Junior Order of Mechanics, Youngstown, Ohio. The most active organizations in favor of immigration are the American Distribution League, 30 Church Street, New York City, and the Liberal Immigration League, 150 Nassau Street, New York City. These organizations will suggest subjects for discussion, furnish speakers, send

copies of bills pending before Congress, and furnish information for debates, discussions and papers upon the subject of the admission or exclusion of immigrants.

There are a number of humane problems in connection with the admission and deportation of aliens which are fertile fields for discussion, and in which women can help formulate public opinion. These include:

Examination of Aliens Abroad, to prevent heart-breaking, and expensive deportations of persons who have broken up their homes, separated their families and sold their property, and taken the long, hard journey to America, only to be turned back.

Protection on Board Vessels, to include improvement of steerage conditions, safeguarding women and property, by placing inspectors and matrons on board.

White Slavery, to include the extension of the present law, secure larger appropriations for its enforcement, extend international agreements, and arrange conferences to make the preventive work now being done more effective. The United States cannot stamp out this evil alone. The American Vigilance Association, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, is the organization which is especially interested in this matter.

Immigration of Men. The increase in the immigration of men who leave their families in the old country and start new families here, deserting the former, or sometimes supporting both families, or herding together in labor camps, tenements and lodging places, is a distinct menace to family life and morality and the

wise rearing of children, and is increasing poverty and distress in the European countries as well as here. The fact that industries require the labor of unskilled men is not compensated for in a business way by the loss of family integrity and the increase in moral degeneration now going on. Family and social life are bearing a heavy burden for industrial development. This requires some international action.

Birds of Passage. An increasingly interesting topic of discussion is the discouragement of immigrants who come here to work for a season or two, invest their savings in the home country, spend a few dollars a week for living here under wretched conditions, and return home. The effect on the home country and the effect of a large number of producers who are not consumers, and their relations to the development of American civic life, are important questions as yet unanswered.

Characteristics of Immigrants. This offers an interesting topic for comparison with the older immigration, in such matters as countries of origin, city and country dwellers, physical characteristics, sex and family life, age, occupation, literacy, temporary residence, language qualifications in relation to assimilation, and social custom.

Probable Effects of Restriction. This offers the widest field for speculation, with considerable data as a basis, on such matters as the immigrant in relation to farming, industrial development, child labor, standards

of living, free government, and the franchise and similar matters, Taken in this connection the causes of immigration are also of such interest.

II. The Foreigner's Needs in America

At the end of several years in which we have been discussing the "immigrant problem," the problem has itself suffered an irrevocable change. It has passed out of the simple stage in which it might have been solved by the forming of a government policy in answer to questions "shall we let them in?" "shall we keep them out?" While we have debated the matter of the Open Gate, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children of alien speech and customs have been crowding into the country by way of the steerage of the great Atlantic liners. They have now become an ineradicable part of the American population. Not a city, and scarcely a town, in the country today is without its quarters where considerable numbers of "foreigners" are herded. They make up the greater part of the dwellers of the tenement or poorer districts of all the larger cities. Throughout the country most of the rough outdoor manual labor is done by them—the sturdy foreign man can still wield a pick or a shovel. With the exception of occasional gangs of negro workmen they are the people who have laid the foundations and done the heavy work on our great national engineering projects, aqueducts, railroads, subways, tunnels, and bridges.

The work of the fields at fruit and harvest time draws upon the immigrant women and children for its cheap and prompt performance — and the investigations of the New York State Factory Commission show that the “child labor” in factories is almost always the labor of foreign born children or children of immigrant parents.

The old unanswered question “Shall we ‘let them in’?” is superseded by a vital, daily, hourly challenge: “What are we doing with, or for, or *to* the millions of men, women and children who make up so large a part of the American community today?” These “immigrants” are your near neighbors if you live in a city; your own workmen, if you are an employer; your servant, if you are a householder; your children’s classmates, if they go to a public school.

No matter who you are or how remote from your concern the immigrant may seem to be, it is safe to say that the work of his hands has ministered to your need or pleasure through years; that it is doing so today and will continue to do so tomorrow. It may be that the gang of Italian workmen passing your door from work on the new railroad bed is your only thought of the “immigrant.” That does not touch you very personally. Have you ever wondered where the hundreds of articles sold every day in the big department stores come from? Most of them, especially the “white goods,” underwear, and embroidered things are made or “finished” in city tenements by the quick and clever

fingers of immigrant women and children. The great bulk of ready made clothing for men and boys is finished in these same tenements. The food you eat, the multiplied list of "canned goods" is prepared or packed largely by immigrant men, women and children in factories throughout the country.

The object of the immigrant woman in coming to America is "to work"; to earn a good living in the country which has been spread before her imagination as the land of liberty and individual opportunity.

With a few dollars in her pocket on arrival, she takes the first job she can find, and is glad to find anything. In the strange new surroundings she turns naturally to her own countrymen, here before her, for advice and help. She probably has the address of an immigrant lodging house, or she is piloted to one on landing by some of the many persons who hang around the wharves for just this purpose.

Women Workers. The two strategic periods at which women immigrants need protection are when they first arrive looking for a home and for work. Do you women residents of your community know what kind of lodging places exist for immigrant women, and where they get work? The *combination* between lodging place keepers and employment agents in the great centers of population determines the happiness, success and economy of the home more than is generally known, not only in cities but in the small towns to which they send workers. The rate of wages depends

upon the supply, and also upon the coaching and instructions given the newly arrived girl on her arrival by this *combination*. The size of the *fee* paid the agent depends upon the rate of wages. The length of employment has come to depend in some measure upon this *combination*. It induces the girl to leave her place after it has placed her there by offering her a place at more wages, regardless of her efficiency, and makes her discontented and a domestic tramp in a short time. This is due to the fact that the country leaves the finding of homes and of employment for immigrant working women in the hands of private agencies interested in making a profit off of their hardships in life. The housewife alone does not determine the standard of her home. The cleanliness, care, and safety depend in a large measure upon her employees. These are today often set by the *combination*, which is the immigrant girls' rendezvous when off duty, by her associates who are shut off from American contacts with life, and who are kept in ignorance and slavery by this *combination*. It houses the girls, shops for them, helps them to marry, and performs a hundred little services which the housewife neglects. What have women done to change this? In two states they have had laws passed regulating immigrant lodging places and setting a standard (New York and California). In other states they have free employment agencies which furnish positions and labor free, but in no state is the appropriation large enough to make them very effective.

In sixteen states they have passed laws regulating private agencies, some effectively, others very inadequately. In at least three states they have coöperative employment societies, where housewives have banded together to secure employment for immigrants. In a few of the large seaport cities and interior cities there are immigrant homes for newly arrived immigrant girls, but not nearly enough of them. The Young Women's Christian Association and Council of Jewish Women, and North American Civic League for Immigrants, and Immigrant Protective League of Chicago, supply friendly visitors who call on the girls in their homes and help them to make the right friends, direct them to schools and otherwise act as friends to them. The immediate step for each woman who wants to extend a helping hand to the immigrant workers is to volunteer as a friendly visitor, inspect the employment agencies in her town and find out what the law is, and if it is not adequate to secure amendments, establish state or municipal employment agencies, and find out how and where the immigrant girl lives who is not living with her parents or in a private family. The North American Civic League for Immigrants, 95 Madison Avenue, New York, can give you the information about the laws.

Labor Camps. It has been said that the great industrial progress in America could not go on at such a pace if we had to raise men to do the general labor. Nearly every American who travels by train or motor

is familiar with the labor camps of this country. Wherever railroads are being repaired, highways being built, good roads laid, water systems installed, there will be seen the camps nestled among the hills or along the line of the industrial march. Some contain only men living desolate, unsanitary lives, without the blessings of recreation or comforts of family life; others have women and children; the former living lives of beasts of burden, the latter cut off from any American influence other perhaps than the boss of the gang or the far away school which they rarely attend.

Such wages as the padrone sees fit to pay out of the lump sum received by him for the work in hand is the immigrant's portion. He eats such food as is supplied him by the same padrone, or often by a foreman in the employ of the company, and he pays for it at a price to yield a profit to the padrone. The camps are usually in an incredibly filthy and unsanitary condition and the only place of respite after work hours is the saloon. The neighbors of the nearest town or city regard these foreigners with suspicion or enmity. The aliens remain strangers in the new country. In some of the camps where women and children live, the children grow up within the boundary of the camp conditions, with illiteracy as the least of the evils of the semi-barbarous surroundings.

When the day comes which sees the completion of the work for which these temporary camps are erected, the colony is disbanded and the men, alone or with their

families, find their way back to the cities, or wander from place to place out of work and with no homes.

It is at this point that in their ignorance of our language and of the customs and laws of the country that they become the easy prey of the greed and inhumanity of all who are willing to take advantage of their helplessness. The most deplorable disclosure that has been made in the course of the effort to help unravel the tangled net in which they are so often caught is the fact that it is their own countrymen who prey upon them most, as a countryman, over here some years, and speaking the immigrants' language, is the one to whom he naturally turns for direction or counsel.

The language handicap makes them practically civic deaf mutes in their first months or even years if they have no association with Americans. It is this disability that has made them the easy victim of the "interpreter," the "shyster" lawyer, the illicit steamship ticket seller, the bogus employment agent, and the dishonest immigrant "banker."

To those whose concern it has been to follow the fortunes of the immigrants in America in the past eight or ten years the marvel is that they have so largely survived the often incredible hazards of their first years here in camps.

These camps are the deepest concern of the American. One state has passed a law, setting a minimum standard of sanitation, housing and comfort of these men. Two philanthropic societies—the Italian Immig-

gration Society, and the North American Civic League for Immigrants—have established camp schools which serve as social centers for the camp; circulating libraries have been sent to them and the Young Men's Christian Association is rapidly extending the work to them. I would recommend that these camps be visited, that the families be seen and that the questions of living conditions, education, recreation, and opportunities for Americanization be discussed.

The question of prime importance in any labor camp is that of the living conditions. A camp located on the edge of a swamp, as is often the case, is conducive to malaria. Failure to provide a satisfactory water supply, improper drainage facilities, and lack of sanitary conditions, make for typhoid fever. Both location and sanitation then concern the camp and the health of the workmen, but they are also a concern of the surrounding communities.

In certain camps employers have had their interests aroused sufficiently to guarantee the privacy of the family in households where boarders are kept. In small houses this has been done by placing the common living room in the center, with the sleeping rooms for the family on one end, and those of the boarders on the other. Where large numbers of boarders are to be housed, the same advantage is secured by dividing the quarters of the boarders from those of the family by means of an intervening hallway. Inasmuch as it is no more expensive to build houses of the kind

described, many employers can no doubt be persuaded to provide these improved types of dwellings for their boarder families. Information concerning such buildings can be secured from the North American Civic League for Immigrants.

Many of the states have libraries of foreign books which will be loaned to companies, or to responsible individuals who are able to give a suitable reference. Where these libraries are available, they should be secured and placed at the disposal of those men who are able and who desire to read. If a room for reading purposes can be secured from the contractor, and foreign papers supplied, this will add to the recreational opportunities of the camp, and so make for moral improvement by offsetting the influence of the saloon.

Frequently these camps are in charge of, or include Americans, who are educated, and who are also interested in the welfare of their immigrant employees. They can be persuaded to give aid to the immigrant who is anxious to learn English, and perhaps to meet regular English classes. In many camps the Y. M. C. A. men have themselves secured employment in order that they might carry on the necessary educational work in the evenings. Where such resources do not exist in the camp itself, but where quarters are available, outsiders are frequently found who feel the great need of the immigrant for an English education, and who are willing to give their services on certain evenings of each week. Advice as to the organization,



AN ELLIS ISLAND MADONNA

Russian Immigrant Woman

and pamphlets to use in connection with these classes may be secured from a number of organizations, notable among whom are, The Immigrant Education Society¹, Young Men's Christian Association², and the North American Civic League for Immigrants³. *

Colonies. The camp has another name in industrial communities. It is called the colony. It is not isolated and inferior because of distance but constitutes a contrast to the American quarters in close proximity. All industries employing immigrants who live about the works have such colonies. They are best recognized in the steel industry, in mines, quarries, brick yards, canneries, mills, and factories. These are made up of people speaking a widely different language and with strong race antipathies. They have their own life, — saloons, stores, newspapers, banks, churches, fraternal societies, all run by their own countrymen after their European ideas, influenced only by American industrial, but not social conditions. They do not adopt the American standard of living, for they have no way of learning it. They do not learn American customs, nor adapt themselves to American conditions, because they have no American friends nor contacts with American life except as they use an American machine or pay rent for an American house. The only assimilating point is the public school, which educates the child far beyond the grasp of the parent and often destroys family discipline because so little is done for the parents.

The public night school with its English classes for

* See Page 2619.

foreigners is attempting to reach these men and women. It is fairly successful with the men, but with the women it is seriously handicapped. In the evening the household cares make many demands upon the mother's time, and the percentage of adult women reached by these schools is very small indeed. And for the immigrant women the question of home-making under strange and difficult conditions is just as vital, and even more immediate, than that of acquiring English.

In the fall of 1911 an experiment was made in Buffalo of sending home or domestic educators into the households of immigrant women to advise them with respect to sanitation, ventilation, domestic and personal hygiene, household economics, care of babies and children, and incidentally to help them with English, or to get them into a school where they might acquire a knowledge of the English language and so break down the walls that are separating them so completely from the American community. The work has been difficult and requires tact and good judgment, and preferably one who is a trained nurse. But it is a plan of work which has extreme value in assimilating immigrant mothers and in maintaining the integrity of the home, and it is now being used in a number of industrial communities by large corporations. A work of this sort is a vital part of any assimilative program and it enables the parents to more nearly keep pace with their children, and so prevents the disruption of home ties and home influences.

The district nurse, of whom there are representatives in nearly all big cities today and whose operations are very widespread, is also a most potent feature in the assimilative process. Where the pressure of her cases will permit, she too is able to teach the mother to do better the homely tasks she has to perform, and to prevent the development of disease, as well as to cure it. The social service worker of the hospitals following the dismissed patient into the home frequently reaches immigrant families, and by her advice and assistance helps the woman to more quickly take her place in the community at large. The nurses at the milk stations where mothers are instructed as to the proper modification of milk for their babies, the school nurses and visiting teachers, of whom several were provided this year in New York City under the Board of Education to visit the homes of backward children and remove domestic difficulties which hinder the school progress, are all influential in bringing the perplexed and handicapped mother into harmony with American life around her.

Women Travelers. Many thousands of women come alone to our country each year to their relatives and friends, or to work, and have to travel alone from the port of arrival to their destination.

Once the government has passed upon the admission of steerage passengers at Ellis Island and has seen them to the landing at Battery Park, or to the railroad terminals, it leaves them to find their way alone. Not

even this protection is given second class passengers. They are allowed to shift for themselves after being discharged at the docks. At other ports Government responsibility for both steerage and second class traffic terminates at the immigrant station. It is not concerned whether immigrants are provided with sufficient food for their journey, whether they arrive safely at their destination or get off at the wrong station, whether they are provided with decent or even adequate sanitary facilities in transit. As immigrant trains do not carry dining facilities, and since the immigrants are not always informed as to the length of their journey, or the amount of food necessary, it not infrequently happens that they arrive at their destination suffering from hunger. Even though they might have obtained food from the lunch counters at the stations there has been no one speaking their language to give them this information. Because of the lack of supervision and protection en route, instances are frequently coming to light where immigrant girls leaving New York City for interior points never reach their destination. In many instances these girls are found to have gone to others than their original friends, and have secured employment, but in other instances they are never located, or they have been traced to houses of ill-fame to which they were lured in their ignorance and where they were held against their will.

Immigrants from Ellis Island bound for New York City who do not speak English, or who are not met by

friends and relatives, may avail themselves of guides speaking their own languages. These guides are employed by the Immigrant Guide and Transfer, a branch of the North American Civic League for Immigrants. A nominal charge is made sufficient to pay the cost of delivery, the amount varying according to the part of the city in which the address is located. In the past year over 51,000 immigrants have been delivered by these guides, and thousands of dollars were undoubtedly saved to them from the runners and guides at the Barge Office, who would prey upon them, charging exorbitant rates for services rendered, or even robbing them outright.

The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society also maintains guides, in addition to its other activities, who deliver Jewish men and women destined to New York City. In both Boston and Philadelphia the North American Civic League for Immigrants, with headquarters in Boston, has representatives on the docks to provide immigrants with all the protection possible. The Travelers' Aid Society in New York City has representatives at all the trans-Atlantic docks, and its work among foreign women who are directed to friends or proper addresses, or placed on trains for their destination, reaches many thousands each year, saving them from exploitation or more serious difficulties.

But excellent as is this work of private agencies their activity leaves too much of the field uncovered. The private philanthropies operate at stations and on

docks. En route there are a thousand possibilities for the traveler to fall a victim to unscrupulous individuals. The hundreds who drop from sight each year between New York and inland points will reach their destination safely when the Government looks upon them as wards until they are in the hands of those to whom they are manifested. "Enlightened self interest" is the motive which a large western railroad has ascribed to the provision of special and adequate sanitary facilities for its immigrant traffic. This same enlightened self interest must sooner or later see to the establishment under the federal Department of Labor of adequate machinery for the protection and delivery of these helpless alien wards to friends and relatives at inland points. A bill has recently been passed providing for an immigration distribution center in Chicago. The extension of this idea to give protection not only to immigrants en route to Chicago but to all other large inland distribution centers, is the logical and necessary extension of this scheme.

The Immigrant Investor. Every year the immigrant banks and the post office department transmit abroad from immigrant workers in America between \$100,000,000 and \$200,000,000. This does not include the amount carried back to Europe by immigrant birds of passage, an amount which in itself totals many additional millions. Part of this money is sent back to wives and families of immigrant laborers, but a great portion is transmitted abroad for safe-keeping, or for

investment. The immigrant is naturally a home-seeker and thousands are from farming communities in Europe, and they would invest in farms here in America but for the practices of unscrupulous real estate agencies and exploiters on one hand, and the failure on the part of state and Governmental agencies on the other to provide accurate and reliable sources of information concerning land to which the one who has saved his earnings can turn for advice in matters of investment. The exploitation of the immigrant destroying as it does the confidence in his fellowmen and in American investment, is the most unfortunate element connected with the immigration situation, and one of the most serious obstacles in the way of successful assimilation. It is also unfortunate that the worst exploiters of the alien are his countrymen. It is to these countrymen that the laborer turns with his earnings when he wishes to place them in safe-keeping. His inability to make use of American banking facilities where only English is spoken has caused him to entrust his savings to those with whom he can deal. In every section where numbers of immigrant laborers are found, immigrant banks have sprung up. In New York State, up to three years ago when a law governing their operations was passed, these bankers were not licensed, and of the majority of them the State Banking Department did not even have a record. During the year 1908 twenty-five of these immigrant banks went out of business in New York State, with a loss

of \$1,200,000 to their creditors. This sum represented the savings of hundreds of laborers, and the result of years of hard toil. The deposits in these banks were guaranteed in no way and there was absolutely no redress for the immigrant depositors. New York State is progressing rapidly in its efforts to bring these banks under control. The work is receiving attention in other states with large immigrant populations, and it is essential that the operation of these concerns receiving the laborers' money shall be carefully guarded, for there is no surer way to defeat the best efforts for assimilation and decent citizenship than to leave these immigrant depositors without protection, since nothing brings the immigrant to more desperate and lawless frame of mind than to see his savings of years appropriated by men in whose integrity he had placed confidence.

And the immigrant is not safe from spoliation when he has escaped an unfortunate experience with his banker. Foreign language newspapers commonly carry advertisements of so-called public service companies, working men's homes companies, or mining corporations, couched in glowing terms and promising sure and splendid returns upon investment. The promoters of these concerns almost invariably disappear when they have secured a considerable sum, or their motives are questioned.

No other line of fraud is more detrimental to immigrant agricultural interests, or to genuine schemes for

the distribution of immigrants, than those practiced upon them in connection with land sales, for once an immigrant has been victimized it is very hard to make him realize that America does offer safe channels for investment, or that it is practical to save for a home in this country.

The schemes for defrauding the prospective settler are varied. One of these is to interest the buyer by pamphlets in the immigrants' tongue, or by elaborate descriptions in foreign language newspapers, which tell of splendid opportunities in a growing village where factories are soon to be erected, where the soil is rich, and the location desirable. The prospective buyer is shown lots which are really good in themselves. He is told that all the others are the same. He is shown the excavations already under way for a factory site, and when he has made his purchase and is given the deed, the description is likely to cover some worthless sand lot or marshy tract, or is so vague in its terms that he is unable to locate his property, and even when he can do so, he finds frequently that he has been deceived with regard to his title, that the tract is covered by a mortgage, and the foreclosure leaves him nothing but a worthless bit of paper and bitter feelings toward America and American investments.

So far this country has not looked upon investment agencies as legitimate fields for public endeavor. The only possible exception is found in states which have created their immigration bureaus, the function of

which is to facilitate the settlement of unoccupied tracts. But, in the meantime, the golden stream flows unchecked out of America into European cities and villages. To turn this back to American soil is worthy of serious thought by Americans. To this end there should be established in the Department of Labor at Washington a bureau with power to register lands for settlers, and to furnish information concerning them, after it has investigated the terms and conditions upon which they are offered. Furthermore, it is essential, that the various states shall interest themselves in the guidance of settlers within their borders, and they shall adopt measures which will prevent false representation with respect to land, and prosecution of dealers who are guilty of fraud or wilful misrepresentation concerning tracts listed by them. They may to good advantage gather information themselves as to tracts suitable for agricultural settlement, giving location, quality of soil and prices.

The Immigrant and Justice. In matters of justice the immigrant again finds that ignorance of language and customs places him under special disabilities. The policeman is inclined to feel that because he is an immigrant he is guilty of the offense charged, especially when the complainant is an American. In rural communities where prejudice is most strong judges incline to the same attitude of mind. Even in cities lack of adequate interpreters makes it difficult or well nigh impossible for the foreigner to gain an impartial hear-

ing. He is frequently denied the benefit of a translation of the testimony given against him. This precludes the possibility of stating his case before the courts. Again it is taken for granted that the offender is aware of his offense, even when he is sentenced by the court. A Polish laborer was arrested by a railroad policeman for trespassing on the right-of-way. No interpreter could be found in the court room, and as there seemed no doubt as to his trespass, he was given sentence and the man was taken to jail ignorant of the offense committed. In many courts the policeman making the arrest serves as an interpreter, in others interpreters are found in the court room, while in other instances the city's attorney has done the necessary interpreting. The common failure on the part of the accused to secure a fair and sympathetic hearing fosters discontent among immigrants and makes them enemies rather than supporters of law and order. Unscrupulous lawyers add to this feeling of distrust, since to the immigrant the attorney is a part of the machinery of justice. He finds to his sorrow that the lawyer recommended by the banker or saloon keeper has an agreement with that person to pay over a percentage of the fees received. Again, he pays money with the understanding that he will be immediately released, and when he demands from the attorney the reason why no action has been taken he finds that he is powerless, inasmuch as he has only a retainer's fee to show for his payment. Again, he pays money for legal service only

to have the lawyer fail to appear in court or to threaten to withhold action on his behalf until additional payments are made. As he is so often without powerful friends to interest themselves in his case, and as he is ignorant of his rights and the proper method of procedure, the exploiter feels that he can take advantage of the immigrant with impunity to himself.

Immigrant Children. The question of child labor, in which the women of this country have so largely interested themselves, presents special aspects in relation to immigration. Wherever fruit growing regions are found contiguous to great cities, immigrant parents go out each summer to work in the canneries and the fields. The employers are often glad to avail themselves of the help of the children during those rush periods when additional hands are needed to save the fruit from spoiling. But even where the employment of children is a matter of indifference to the canner or picker, the foreign parents who do not appreciate the harm done to the child by long hours of application, and who desire to earn a few more cents a day, take these children with them to the field or shed, and in the latter place children six years and over are found who have been compelled to work throughout the day and into the night, during the rush season. An injury equally serious comes to the child from his interrupted schooling. The family leaves the city in May to work in the fields, while the school has still a few more weeks to run, and returns in the fall after all the vegetables



THE GARMENT MAKERS

An Italian tenement room : a miniature sweat-shop

are canned, from a few weeks to months after the school has opened. The loss to the child so taken away is serious, but the one who has remained in the city is also harmed through the necessary readjustment of school activities to the backward child who has returned. One state at least has so amended its child labor laws as to include work in cannery sheds as well as factories, but this law does not remedy the educational situation. It seems necessary to form special immigrant classes for these children, both in the industrial regions and in the city after they have returned to prevent injustice to those who have remained in their classes.

In every city of any size there are to be found Greek and Italian boys working as shoe shiners and flower peddlers under bosses from among their own countrymen. These bosses are known as padroni. The condition is the same for practically all of these boys. A contract has been made between the padrone and the boy's parents whereby the boy is bound to work for a definite period after arriving in America in payment for the passage money advanced to him. The parents have ignorantly, in many instances, bound the boy to work for a year or more in exchange for \$50 or \$60. This boy is able to evade the immigration officials, despite the law against contract labor, because he comes consigned to a so-called "cousin" or "uncle," who is generally the padrone who has paid his passage.

The industrial and living conditions of these boys

after landing in America are generally most undesirable. Their hours of labor extend over seven days a week, are long, beginning as they do between 6 and 7 in the morning, and continuing until 9 or 10 at night, with no break in between. Fourteen or fifteen hours is a common day's work, and on Saturday the hours are even longer. Because of this long period of labor they are without opportunity for education or recreation, and it is to the advantage of the padrone to keep them in ignorance of what is going on around them since ignorance increases his hold over them. The tips which the boys receive average from fifty cents upward a day and are almost invariably taken by the boss. For those who have finished the period for which they were bound over, wages are exceedingly low, ranging from \$80 to \$250 a year, the average sum given being about \$150 a year.

A similar condition prevails among the flower peddlers who begin about nine o'clock in the morning and continue until the crowds are off the street at night. In cities where a limited number of licenses are issued, as in New York, and where only citizens are eligible to hold such licenses, the boys are instructed to disregard the law and evade the police. They are further instructed how to answer the judge when arrested and are given money to pay their fines. They soon come to regard arrest and their experiences in the court as a farce. Such training is not calculated to develop in them a respect for American laws and institutions, nor

to lay the foundation for good citizenship. A remedy for the latter condition is a revision of the license laws or a more rigorous enforcement of these laws to prevent the growing contempt in which they are held.

Legislation has been introduced in one state to compel a Sunday holiday for these boys. The padroni are mutually suspicious of each other and because of competition no one of them will move to lighten the burden of his employees until compelled to do so by statute.

Massachusetts has a law which provides that all illiterates under 21 years of age shall attend evening schools where such facilities have been provided in the communities where they reside. This law, if adequate machinery can be provided for its enforcement, will go far toward lightening the hours and improving the condition of these boys, but primarily a statute is needed which will make it impossible for the padroni to work them through such long periods as at present, for not alone is it hard to ask one who has worked for such long hours to apply himself to books, but there will be little gain from such application.

The Immigrant and Education. The Congressional Immigration Commission which rendered its report in 1909, found that as soon as English is acquired not only do the immigrants' standards of living change, but distribution and proper adjustment in industrial ranks occur, and at the same time immigrant bankers and exploiters of aliens lose their hold on their victims in proportion to their English speaking ability.

Instruction in English is one of the best means of protection against exploiters and should be given as soon as possible after the immigrant has arrived in this country. A great awakening of interest in the educational problems centering about the immigrant is taking place. Night classes are being rapidly extended. Yet in the state which received the greatest volume of immigration but one adult out of thirteen is being reached by the schools. The other twelve are scattered in the congested tenement districts or throughout the industrial communities and labor camps. While their assimilation may not be prevented it will be greatly retarded by this failure to acquire English at once. Many cities not yet awake to their responsibility toward the immigrant or prejudiced, have not yet provided adequate educational facilities. The average length of classes established is extremely short. They are open during the winter months when industrial activity and night work is greatest, and they usually close in the spring at the beginning of heavy migration, leaving no public means for acquiring English until the immigrant has been several months in the country, by which time he is a part of an immigrant gang, and he does not feel a strong need to study.

Massachusetts requires that all cities having over 10,000 inhabitants shall provide night schools. A more adequate law would make the establishment of schools obligatory in cities of 2,500 or more inhabitants, whenever a minimum of fifty persons petition for night

classes. New Jersey has a provision in its educational law for subsidizing classes for foreigners. New York has a law permitting district superintendents to establish schools for children and adults in public labor camps, the cost of maintenance to be levied against the state or municipality, according to whichever is responsible for the particular piece of construction work.

For Special Reports and Information, address

1. Immigrant Education Society, 241 Fifth Ave., New York.
2. Young Men's Christian Association, 112 East Twenty-eighth St., New York.
3. North American Civic League for Immigrants, 95 Madison Ave., New York.
4. Bureau of Industries and Immigration, 95 Madison Ave., New York.
5. Council of Jewish Women, 448 Central Park West, New York.
6. Immigrants' Protective League, 753 Plymouth Court, Chicago.
7. Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, 129 Broad St., New York.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW, PART V

1. *How many immigrant women come into your state yearly? Where do they go, how are they employed, and is the home getting its share of workers?*

2. *What problems of protection are closely associated with the exclusion or admission of aliens, and how would you solve them?*

3. *What are the State and Municipal laws regulating employment agencies in matters of fees, misrepresentation, safeguarding places of employment, length of service, advertising, references, etc.?*

4. *Are there immigrant lodging places in your community, and are the conditions in them good for girls? Where do the unemployed immigrant girls live and spend their time off?*

5. *What provisions are made at your docks and stations for women travelers arriving alone at night?*

6. *Does the educational law of your state make the provision of night schools compulsory in large cities? Are there night schools in your own city? Do the foreign women attend as well as the men?*

7. *Does the public library in your city contain foreign books? Does your state library provide for traveling libraries of foreign books?*

8. *Are the courts in your city having to do with immigrants adequately provided with interpreters? Is*

there a Legal Aid Society to which needy aliens can carry their cases?

9. What provision is made for recreation in your immigrant districts? Have you any social center schools in these districts? Any settlements?

10. What is being done for the foreign born woman voter in America, in relation to her naturalization and citizenship duties?

11. What has the farm to offer the immigrant as contrasted with the city? What is your state doing to enable the immigrant to buy his home and invest his savings in your home concerns?

12. Are there any camps or colonies or immigrant sections near your home; do the women and children have a fair chance, and are you being a good neighbor? Have you called and extended the hand of fellowship?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. The Employment, Training and Distribution of the Immigrant Domestic Employee.

2. The Protection of Immigrant Women Travelers. — The Pitfalls and Dangers.

3. Birds of Passage.

4. What can American Women do toward Americanizing their newly arrived Neighbors?

5. Women's Clubs as Forces in Governmental and Philanthropic Activities among Aliens.

6. The Immigrant Child.

PART VI

The Prevention of Vice

By DEAN WALTER T. SUMNER, D. D.

THE SOCIAL EVIL

THE Social Evil presents a problem almost as old as the history of man. It is pregnant today, however, with some new and unique phases.

While immorality can be traced through the history of nations and races, while women have lived from the earnings derived from immorality, yet today the most striking aspect of the problem is its highly commercialized character. Men have taken the evil, organized it, exploited it, and commercialized it. They have introduced into this nefarious business artificial stimuli of a varied and loathsome character, following the rule of all business—whatever increases the demand will increase the profits.

In the discussion of the Social Evil we find a subject which is not an exact science. Known causes and results are difficult to connect logically. Certain subtle conditions with wide ramifications make the problem an immense one. In its solution, therefore, it might be said that one man's opinion may be as good as another's, provided two things obtain: First,

a moral viewpoint. Second, full information. These two conditions are absolutely necessary. It might be supposed that most men would have a moral viewpoint on this subject. This is not the case. Perhaps this is due to the fact that because the evil is so ancient, man's conscience with reference to it has become seared. Again, comparatively few people have full knowledge of the evil. However, if a right decision is to be made, full information must be obtained.

The Vice Commission of Chicago, in its report, covering this point, says: "This Commission has been greatly impressed in its studies with these two facts: First, the citizen's wilful ignorance of the immoral conditions within the city; and, second, his offhand advice as to the proper methods of handling the vice problem, given with absolute confidence and finality."*

Two phases of the problem meet the student at the outset—the clandestine and the professional or commercialized type. It is not the intention in this discussion to go into the phase of clandestine immorality. So long as there are uncontrolled passions in men and women, and lack of a moral conscience, there will be personal immorality with its clandestine features.

A Commercialized Business

It is the purpose of this article to deal rather with the professional type and commercialized vice. It is

* Report Chicago Vice Commission, page 31.

desired, therefore, to impress this first truth—prostitution today in the great cities is a commercialized business of large proportions and tremendous profits, controlled largely by men, not women. As an illustration of its proportions, the Vice Commission of Chicago estimated the profits in Chicago each year as *sixteen million dollars*.* This being based not on the estimate of five thousand professional women, but rather upon the police list of one thousand and twelve. As the Commission points out, it is abhorrent to the moral sense of any community that there should be within its borders a group or groups of men, vicious and ignorant to a degree, who are openly and defiantly breaking the laws of the state by this commercialized evil.

The antiquity of the problem and its immensity, are not arguments that nothing can be done. In addition, the mistaken idea of the constancy of the evil should not bear weight. There have been epochs in the world's history when there has been remarkable purity among the people of various nations.

“Barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples have at times been free from it. The ancient Germans, we are told, tolerated no prostitution in their midst, and there are said to be Siberian and African tribes today of which the same thing is true, but no sooner has a people attained a moderate degree of civilization than this social curse has fallen upon it; nor has any race reached a point of moral elevation where this form of vice has disappeared.” †

* Report Chicago Vice Commission, page 113.

† Report Committee of Fifteen, New York City.

However old or immense the problem, something certainly can be done to minimize it. It is only the morally inert who say that nothing can be done.

It is sometimes said that the social evil is a necessary evil. If it is a necessary evil, it must be necessary to some one. To whom is it necessary?

1. Is it necessary to men for a complete and full development of manhood? One has but to ask any physiologist or physician to learn that the answer to this question is a negative one. To answer it in the affirmative means a reflection upon every unmarried man in the community and an insult to the celibate clergy of the great religious communions.

2. Is it necessary to womanhood? One who asks such a question as this must be strangely ignorant of the psychology of woman, her natural instinct of abhorrence and horror.

3. Is it necessary to the community that there should be recognized resorts for the practice of commercialized vice? The decision of the Vice Commissions, as outlined in this article, show that progressive and advanced government of cities considers the recognition of the social evil as a blot upon the municipal escutcheon. Cities throughout the world today, especially American cities, are rapidly realizing that if they are to meet up with the moral standards of true municipal government, they must fight the social evil at every turn and attempt to repress it.

4. Is it necessary to public health? Can anyone

ask that question when they realize the startling prevalence of venereal disease and the terrible results which are being spread broadcast by the social evil. Conservative estimates by scientists show that over half of the male adults in this country between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, have or have had a social evil disease. Again, eighty per cent of all operations upon women, peculiar to womanhood, are attributed to the guilty infection of a husband, and in most cases the wife has never known it. Repression of the social evil means reduction in physical wreckage of life.

5. Is it necessary to the sanctity of the home; that the purity of the wife and daughter may be protected? This is a very popular argument with men, but can anyone ask that question when they realize that over one-half of the service rendered is rendered to married men? What a reflection upon our moral and social standards that the marriage relationship is considered so lightly. It is necessary only to those who exploit women in commercialized vice for financial gain.

Investigations of Vice Commissions

Existing conditions in this country have been scientifically disclosed in the last three years by the various municipal vice commissions in various cities and by volunteer organizations of citizens banded together to investigate local conditions. The Vice Commission of Chicago was the first commission of this nature ever appointed by a municipality and

financed by the city treasury. Its purpose, as stated in the resolution of the City Council which appointed it, was "to investigate thoroughly the conditions as they exist. With this knowledge obtained, let it map out such a course as in its judgment will bring about some relief from the frightful conditions which surround us."

The Commission consisted of thirty well-known and respected citizens of Chicago—men and women representing many callings and vocations and with a large variety of viewpoint. Ten thousand dollars was voted for its use by the City Council. Its report is well known to social workers throughout the country and its recommendations have been adopted in some instances in Chicago, as well as in other cities. Since its appointment, approximately thirty other commissions or similar organizations have come into existence. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the commission movement has been the unanimity of the decisions and the agreement in recommendations.

In these commissions one finds the two necessary qualifications spoken of above, namely: the moral viewpoint and full information. Their decisions, therefore, are worthy of the respect and confidence of citizens at large.

Both in this country and abroad, municipal authorities are endeavoring to change existing conditions. International congresses in Europe have brought out the fact that in no country has recognition, attempted

segregation and regulation been effective or satisfactory. Berlin and Paris, often pointed to as examples of cities which have solved the problem, have not found these methods anything like a solution of the problem. This is true of other cities of the world.

The vice commissions throughout the country are unanimous in their decision with reference to the problem as a whole. Briefly, it is this—*Segregation does not segregate, it never has and it never can. Neither does it solve any phase of the problem. Rather it increases and aggravates all phases; regulation does not and cannot regulate, rather it gives a false security to men, both young and old. Therefore, the only plan to pursue is "constant and persistent repression of prostitution the immediate method; absolute annihilation the ultimate ideal."**

Perhaps one can never hope to reach the ideal, but in that one finds no excuse for sitting idly by and doing nothing, in an attempt to attain the ideal by minimizing the evil.

The Saloon and the Social Evil

The Chicago Vice Commission, as well as other commissions, found in its investigation that the most dangerous immoral influence and the most important financial interest outside of the business of prostitution, as carried on in houses, is the disorderly saloon. The most conspicuous and important element in con-

* Report Chicago Vice Commission, page 25.

nection with the social evil next to the house of prostitution itself, is the saloon. A reference to almost any of the vice commission reports will show that the saloon and the social evil have been so intimately connected that the commercialized vice interests look to the saloon interests for protection and support. There seems to be absolutely no question on the part of the commissions that there should be immediate and complete separation of the saloon and the social evil, and that no houses of assignation or prostitution, or rooms above or adjacent should be allowed in connection with a saloon. To quote again from the Vice Commission Report:

“Bawdy houses found by the commission were appalling enough, but the abuse of liquor selling privileges is equal in viciousness through its open and alluring flaunting of vice and degeneracy, and in its destruction of the moral character of men who frequent the saloon primarily for drink only.”*

The Social Evil and the Police

“The law is only so powerful as the public opinion which supports it. It is the habit of Americans when they make laws, to insist on ethical ideals. They will not compromise. They have been endowed, however, with a fine ability to be inconsistent, and having once declared their ideals, to find no difficulty when it comes to the administration of the laws, to allow officials to ignore them; to do things not in the laws; and to substitute a practice which is a *de facto* law, though

* Report Chicago Vice Commission, page 119.

technically illegal. This is the basis of graft, and the greatest evil in municipal government." †

We are dealing with a matter which can never be legalized. We, therefore, substitute *pseudo* for *de facto* laws, and we give the whole matter over to a department of municipal government—the police. To this department we give a three-fold power—power to make psuedo-laws; the power to enforce these laws however and when they will; and authority to punish offenders under those laws. As a result of the attitude of the public toward the enforcement of law, and because of this large discretionary power given to the police, we find the police departments in many cities, in a sense, demoralized. As one of the Municipal Court Judges in Chicago said:

"It is this discretion which makes graft in the police department possible. The law-abiding citizen will not pay graft to anyone for the protection of his business. He relies upon the law's protection. It is only the man who engages in an unlawful business who will pay graft for the protection of that unlawful business. We have in every large city in this country the anomalous situation of the police officers, the guardians of the law, attempting to regulate an unlawful business—a condition which is certain to produce more or less corruption."

To meet these difficulties it is most earnestly recommended that the handling of the social evil be

† Report Chicago Vice Commission, page 27.



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THE WHITE SLAVE

Nailed to the Cross of Money by the Beast of Lust

taken out of the hands of the police and given to a Morals Commission of three or five citizens of the community, whose integrity cannot be questioned. They, in turn, with police powers, are to see that the laws are enforced with reference to the repression of the social evil. Such a recommendation is not only in the interests of an efficient handling of the problem, but in justice to police officers in general, who in most instances would prefer not to be swept into temptations of bribery and corruption.

Sources of Supply

There are almost innumerable reasons why women take up or are forced into the life of prostitution. The subject is too large for full discussion in this article. We can cite only a few of the more important contributing factors—these not being given perhaps in the order of their importance:

First: Heredity, resulting in a weakened physical, mental, and moral condition.

Second: Subnormality. It is quite safe to say that half of the unfortunate women are subnormal mentally. What a reflection upon civilization that half-witted and subnormal girls and women should be exploited in vice!

Third: Unfavorable home conditions and family relationships, where the parents may be drunken, immoral, and degraded, the home crowded and filthy, and the child neglected and abused.

Fourth: The lack of supervision on the street, especially in connection with recreation. This includes dance halls, which undoubtedly are the greatest source of downfall of the girl seeking recreation. In the various investigations made, nearly every public dance hall visited proved the girls who attended to be surrounded by great temptations and dangers. Professional and semi-professional prostitutes frequent these places; the sale of liquor to minors in several cities is permitted, contrary to public statutes. Amusement parks are also a menace to the morals of the young girl, unless there is the strictest supervision. In fact, wherever children are congregated together for recreational purposes, there is danger to the child, unless there is strict surveillance.

Fifth: The nervous strain from industrial work. One cannot overestimate this where the burden is placed on the shoulders of a growing girl at the period of adolescence, especially where the child has to assume self-support and self-direction, and sometimes aid in the support of her family.

Sixth: Economic conditions. That one of the chief reasons why girls enter lives of prostitution is the inadequate wage, cannot be denied. At the same time it should not be overemphasized. It costs so much to live, the wage is so much. The question naturally arises, where will the difference come from? One must not fall into the error, however, of casting a reflection upon the morality of large groups of women

in industrial life, who in the face of a small wage are putting up a hard fight, and are winning out. The greatest attention, however, should be paid to changing the economic condition and to increasing the wage of girls in industrial life.

"The economic side of the question. The life of an unprotected girl who tries to make a living in a great city is full of torturing temptations. First, she faces the problem of living on an inadequate wage. Six dollars a week is the average in mercantile establishments. If she were living at home the mother and sister could help her with mending, sewing, and washing, where her board would be small—perhaps only a dollar or two towards the burden carried by the other members of the family—where her lunch would come from the family larder—then her condition might be as good as if she earned eight dollars per week.

"The girl who has no home soon learns of 'city poverty,' all the more cruel to her because of the artificial contrasts. She quickly learns of the possibilities about her, of the joys of comfort, good food, entertainment, attractive clothes. Poverty becomes a menace and a snare. One who has not beheld the struggle or come in personal contact with the tempted soul of the underpaid girl can never realize what the poverty of the city means to her. One who had never seen her bravely fighting against such fearful odds will never understand. A day's sickness or a week out of work are tragedies in her life. They mean trips

to the pawnbrokers, meager dinners, a weakened will, often a plunge into the abyss from which she so often never escapes.

“Hundreds, if not thousands, of girls from country towns, and those born in the city but who have been thrown on their own resources, are compelled to live in cheap boarding or rooming houses on the average wage of six dollars. How do they exist on this sum? It is impossible to figure it out on a mathematical basis. If the wage were eight dollars per week, and the girl paid two and a half dollars for her room, one dollar for laundry, and sixty cents for car fare, she would have less than fifty cents left at the end of the week. That is, provided she ate ten cent breakfasts, fifteen cent luncheons and twenty-five cent dinners. But there is no doubt that many girls *do* live on even six dollars and do it *honestly*, but we can affirm that they *do not* have nourishing food, or comfortable shelter, or warm clothes, or any amusement, except perhaps from public dances, without outside help, either from charity in the shape of girls’ clubs, or friends in the country home. How can she possibly exist, to say nothing of live?

“Is it any wonder that a tempted girl who received only six dollars per week working with her hands, sells her body for twenty-five dollars per week when she learns there is a demand for it and men are willing to pay the price? On the one hand her employer demands honesty, faithfulness, and a ‘clean and neat

appearance,' and for all this he contributes from his profits an average of six dollars for every week. Her honesty alone is worth this inadequate wage, disregarding the consideration of her efficiency. In the sad life of prostitution, on the other hand, we find here the employer demanding the surrender of her virtue, pays her an average of twenty-five dollars per week. Which employer wins the half starved child to his side in this unequal battle? It would be unjust, however, to cast any reflection upon those girls who are brave and pure, by intimating that because they earn so small a wage they must necessarily be in the same class with those other girls who, unable to survive longer the heroic battle against poverty and self-sacrifice, have succumbed and gone down.

"Prostitution demands *youth* for its perpetration. On the public rests the mighty responsibility of seeing to it that the demand is not supplied through the breaking down of the early education of the young girl or her exploitation in the business world. What show has she in the competitive system which exists today? Whatever her chances may be, to stand or to fall, she is here in hordes in the business world as our problem. Let us do something to give her at least a living wage. If she is not sufficiently skilled to earn it let us mix some religious justice with our business and do something to increase her efficiency which she has never been able to develop through no fault of her own.

“Are flesh and blood so cheap, mental qualifications so common and honesty of so little value, that the manager of one of our big department stores feels justified in paying a high school girl, who has served nearly one year as an inspector of sales, the beggarly wage of \$4.00 per week? What is the natural result of such an industrial condition? Dishonesty and immorality, not from choice, but necessity—in order to *live*. We can forgive the human frailty which yields to temptation under such conditions—but we cannot forgive the soulless corporation, which arrests and prosecutes this girl—a first offender—when she takes some little articles for personal adornment.”*

Seventh: The man's part: The end of the battle is not yet for those girls who struggle on alone and unprotected with their more pressing financial problems. The greatest menace is before her—the man. See her as he meets her at the door of her place of employment! See her as she returns to her cheap boarding house! Huddled away among coarse and vulgar male companions, lonely, underfed and hungry—hungry not only for food, but for a decent shelter, for a home, for friends, for a sympathetic touch or word; tired from a hard day's toil even to the point of recklessness—starving for honest pleasures and amusements—and with what does she meet? The advances of men without either a spark of bravery or honor, who hunt as their unlawful prey this impov-

* Report Chicago Vice Commission.

erished girl, this defenseless child of poverty, unprotected, unloved, and uncared for as she is plunged into the swirling, seething stream of humanity; the advances of men who are so low that they have lost even a sense of sportsmanship, and who seek as their game an underfed, a tired, and a lonely girl.

She suffers, but what of him? She goes down, and is finally sacrificed to a life of shame, but what of him? He escapes as a "romancer." It is not just!

The supply of victims of the social evil, both female and male, is perpetuated by those who act the role of procurer. These are both men and women. In their vocation we find them most often as bartenders, waiters in saloons and restaurants, managers and employes in cheap theaters, nickel shows, penny picture arcades, employers, floor walkers and inspectors in stores and shops, keepers of employment offices, hackmen, expressmen and runners at railway stations and boat landings, midwives and doctors, food dealers, cadets, keepers and attendants at dance halls, private recreation parks, assignation houses, hotels and flats, call houses, disorderly saloons, and houses of prostitution.

As Mr. George Kneeland, formerly of the Chicago Vice Commission, whose book on "Commercialized Prostitution in New York City" is recognized as an authority, points out that there would be but little of the so-called "White Slave Traffic" were there no houses of prostitution organized on commercial lines. He says:

"While keepers of houses are also procurers, there is a group of men who devote themselves singly to this work. These are the typical 'white slavers,' whose trade depends entirely upon the existence of houses of prostitution. To this point we shall in a moment recur in connection with women promoters of prostitution. For the present I desire simply to emphasize the fact that the procurer has practically no chance to ply his trade unless there are houses of prostitution from which he can accept orders and to which he can dispose of 'goods.'" (Page 85.)

Whatever can be done to prevent these conditions which lead to immorality, should be undertaken. It will depend largely upon women to urge solutions and to persist in the attempt to secure them. Preventive measures in reducing the supply will be found so much more satisfactory than efforts along the lines of rescue and reform, after the harm has been done.

The Social Evil and Crime.

Closely allied with the social evil we find all sorts and conditions of a criminal nature. As pointed out above, there is general contempt for the law as it bears upon the social evil. This, in addition to the unenforcement of one group of laws, is bound to arouse a contempt for all law. All forms of debauchery and immorality are closely allied to the social evil—all of them contributing factors to the profits or to the artificial stimuli of the business.

The history of prostitutes as contained in such excellent reports as "Commercialized Prostitution in New York," with its exhaustive statistics concerning

the state reformatory at Bedford Hills, New York, shows how ramifying are the relationships of unfortunate women and vice and crime in general.

The minimizing of the social evil means a reduction in crime of practically all kinds.

Child Protection and Education

No one can deny that the child should be protected against the dangers which every adult knows are constantly pressing in upon the child. The indifference of the parent today, with reference to the protection of his child, is almost unbelievable, except to social workers. Protective agencies, such as the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, which founded in that city the first Juvenile Court in the country, are called upon often to do the work which primarily belongs to the parent. Its yearly report is filled with the successful attempts which have been made to protect children in groups and as individuals. It has investigated, and, where necessary, prosecuted public dance halls, moving picture shows, pool rooms; it has suppressed gambling devices, pernicious and immoral literature and pictures, and done much to make the streets safe for the children to play in. Without some such organization as this, whose business it is to prosecute those who are a menace to childhood, a city or town will probably find it difficult to change street conditions.

With reference to education, there is a very large difference of opinion. Primarily, the education of the

child in sex matters should rest with the parents; that parents have been and are indifferent, must be conceded. The future looks more hopeful. That the teaching of the parents must be supplemented is apparent to everyone working with children. Whether this can be done by the public schools is again a question of opinion. As the efforts in this direction are of so recent origin, it is difficult to measure results.

The Board of Education of Chicago has appropriated ten thousand dollars to secure men and women teachers from the physicians of the city, carefully selected not only because of their scientific knowledge, but their moral viewpoint. These have been giving instruction in the high schools to boys and girls in segregated classes, upon the subject "Personal Purity." While some principals and teachers have criticised in some instances the mode of presentation—and these not in a particularly serious way—the large majority have reported that in their judgment, the lectures will accomplish exactly what was intended—a desire on the part of young men and young women to lead pure lives. Religious organizations have a large responsibility in building up the moral side of the child. Certainly instruction on sex matters should not be separated from morals. The two must go hand in hand. This is quite possible, even in public schools, where the teacher carefully selected for the purpose, treats the subject from a moral as well as a physiological viewpoint. Whatever the decision may be with refer-



A GROUP OF CHILDREN LIVING IN A "RED-LIGHT" DISTRICT

ence to the teaching of sex hygiene, one cannot deny that there is the greatest need of giving the child the few things it should know to protect it, coupling with it a moral instruction providing the moral strength to follow out that teaching.

Rescue and Reform

In a discussion of the question of rescue and reform, one must remember that this is one of the later phases of the problem,—the attempt to undo the wrong which has been done. While it is important, it is more important that prevention should minimize the need of a cure. There are many who would gladly give all their time, their energy and their wealth to bring unfortunate women out of an immoral life. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly many girls and women who would leave the life. One problem is to bring these two extremes of society together, that they may work effectively and intelligently. Nearly every city has one or more agencies which is attempting to accomplish this. In the meantime, the problem presents itself as to the disposition of the unfortunate girl who is drawn back from an immoral life. Work must be provided. In many instances the unfortunate woman is not in a physical condition to do adequate work. This calls for refuges or reformatories where she may restore herself to physical efficiency. Maternity homes are also oftentimes necessary in this connection. Hospital care is almost inevitably a necessity.

The institutional care of the unfortunate women is in itself a problem. All forms of domestic science are generally taught as an essential to vocational training, but even this is not sufficient. There must be coupled with it some form of spiritual experience which will arouse in the girl a new hope and a new desire to give her the necessary spiritual strength to overcome her temptations.

A suggestion well worthy of consideration is that municipalities secure in outlying suburban districts trade schools and hospitals combined to which unfortunate women might be committed on indeterminate sentences. As pointed out in the Chicago Vice Commission report,* obviously it is necessary that measures of almost drastic control should be established if such women are to be helped permanently and society served. Yet society should remember the deep pathos of their evil estate, as described by a character in a recent work:

"These dubious divinities of the gaslight and the pavement represent the eternal sacrifice of woman, the tragedy of her abasement, her obedience to the world."

"A generation which has gone through so many successive revolts against commercial aggression and lawlessness, will at last lead one more revolt on behalf of the young girls who are the victims of the basest and vilest commercialism. As that consciousness of human suffering, which already hangs like a black cloud over thousands of our more sensitive contemporaries, increases in poignancy, it must finally include the women who for so many generations have received

* Report Chicago Vice Commission, page 286.

neither pity nor consideration; as the sense of justice fast widens to encircle all human relations, it must at length reach the women who have so long been judged without a hearing." *

Medical Questions

It would be impossible in the space available for the discussion of this phase of the problem, to begin to tell the ravages and dangers of venereal diseases, which are a part and parcel of the whole commercialized vice. Unless there is a united attempt to diminish venereal disease the very integrity of the race is threatened. To accomplish this both sexes must be taught the moral, social, and personal dangers of the black plague far more to be dreaded than the white plague—venereal disease. They should be taught with emphasis that these diseases, like all other contagious diseases, may be innocently acquired and transmitted. Woman peculiarly needs such instruction, not only that she may protect herself, but that she may protect her child against danger from those to whose care it may be entrusted. The work of national, state, and municipal organizations with a fundamental aim of instruction in hygiene and sanitation should be encouraged and upheld. Quoting from Dr. Morrow's "Social Diseases and Marriage," page 345:

"The stupid indifference of society to the dangers which menace the public health from the plague of venereal diseases, and especially the dangers which result from the introduction of these diseases into marriage, is largely the

* "A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil," by Jane Addams, page 218.

result of ignorance—ignorance of their frightful consequences, their nature and modes of communication, and the number of their innocent victims.”

Educational material should be selected with the greatest care. Instruction which creates terror is the least desirable. On the other hand, instruction from the viewpoint of physiology or prophylaxis alone is not enough. This should be coupled with an appeal to chivalry and a sense of justice not only for one's self, but for others. Any physician can furnish excellent works on venereal diseases, upon application.

One point that must not be forgotten is the danger of inherited venereal diseases or its attending consequences.

Prostitution is pregnant with disease and infects not only the guilty one but the innocent wife and child with a sickening certainty; leaving in its wake sterility, insanity, paralysis, locomotor ataxia, the blinded eyes of little babes and general degeneracy. All other things being equal, defective parentage will give rise to a defective environment. To change the environment, therefore, we must go back to the children yet unborn to guarantee to them that they shall be well born.

This brings us to our next division.

Attempt to Prevent Transmission of Deficiencies to Next Generation

While we are giving much time and attention to the question of environment, we are giving almost no con-

sideration to the question of heredity. It is no wonder, therefore, that we have millions of people in our institutions for abnormal people, costing the nation several hundred million dollars a year for their upkeep and care. That something should be done to prevent the marriage of those who are physically unfit, especially those infected with venereal disease, must be recognized.

As Havelock Ellis points out in his "Studies on the Psychology of Sex":

"A man's sexual nature, like all else that is most essential in him, is rooted in a soil that was formed very long before his birth. In this, as in every other respect, he draws the elements of his life from his ancestors, however new the recombination may be and however greatly it may be modified by subsequent conditions. A man's destiny stands not in the future, but in the past. That, rightly considered, is the most vital of all vital facts."

At the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul in Chicago, on Easter, 1912, the stand was taken that thereafter there should be no marriages performed except upon the presentation of a health certificate by the two contracting parties. This certificate must be signed by a reputable physician, stating that each had neither an incurable nor communicable disease.

While there may be a difference of opinion whether the Church should regulate this phase of marital selection, the action taken at that time has crystalized public opinion to the extent that since that date over twenty medical societies representing the most advanced

thought of every community on the subject, have passed resolutions in national, state, and local convention, calling for legislation by state enactment, to the effect that no license shall be issued until a health certificate has been procured. Various Bar Association conventions have urged the same; over thirty-five hundred clergy, representing nearly all of the religious bodies of the country, have agreed to at least urge, if not demand, a health certificate before they will perform a marriage ceremony. Some fifteen states have legislation pending, while five states have passed legislation, all of which betokens the fact that the movement is now apace. While it cannot be expected that these steps will prove a complete remedy for the evil, they at least have educative value in arousing in fathers and mothers a desire to protect the integrity of their families by securing some assurance from the man who comes to ask for the daughter's hand, that he has not an incurable or communicable disease.

Furthermore, it is leading boys to the consideration, as never before, that if they are to qualify as fathers, they must lead lives of abstinence and purity.

As Charles Rann Kennedy puts in the lips of his character "Heron" in "The Necessary Evil":

"My child, marriage is God's also. It is His sacrament. But the grace of it must be striven for, attained: like saintliness, like — like any other work of art. The true marriages of the world do not drop down from Heaven, ready made: they come in dream, in vision, to the seeking soul: they call for sacrifice, for will, for effort; they must be labored

for, if you want them here on earth. Like religion; like social order; like art."

The philosophy of this movement will appeal to intelligent and thinking people, who will see its logic, even if the results may fall short of what may be desired.

Law and Legislation

Most communities have sufficient laws to cover the handling of the social evil problem. Practically no attempt has been made in many communities to enforce them. In some instances, further enactments seem to be necessary. The Federal Government has been awakened in the past five years to the need of national legislation. The Mann Act is one of the results. This prevents the bringing of a girl for immoral purposes from one state to another, and has done much to prevent the so-called "white slave traffic." The national government also has done much to protect the immigrant. This is of the greatest importance, as the immigrant girl is very apt to fall into the hands of unscrupulous persons, and knowing nothing of the language or customs of the country, be exploited.

The national government could do well also in the passage of a stringent uniform divorce law for all states. State laws vary in different parts of the country.

The Vice Commission of Chicago makes some very excellent recommendations to both state and city

authorities in its report, calling for additional legislation.

One thing that should be emphasized in the discussion of this problem is the power given to health boards to handle cases of venereal disease; that venereal disease should be registered, as are other contagious diseases, is greatly to be desired. Whether possible or not, the future must determine. But in matters of hygiene and sanitation the Board of Health of communities has absolute control and its powers should be enlarged to include the handling of venereal disease.

Recommendations

To leave the matter here might make one feel that the discussion was without point. Recommendations, therefore, may not be out of place.

Perhaps the most important thing in connection with vice repression is the necessity for arousing an enlightened public opinion. To do this, facts must be obtained. The investigations in other cities and towns will be of great assistance to a community undertaking an investigation of its own situation. These facts, however, will not be in any way so convincing as those obtained from a survey of local conditions. A local investigation should only be made by trained expert investigators working under either a municipal or a volunteer Commission. The Commission should be made up of men and women of large experience, who have the confidence of the public at large.

To carry on the investigation one could do no better than to invite The American Federation for Sex Hygiene to take charge of the investigation, this being a part of the Association's program.

It is recommended that the following program be inaugurated in cities and towns throughout the country :

First. A request to the Mayor on the part of some club or organized federation or group of citizens that he appoint a Commission, to be financed by the city if possible, to make a survey of the city and to return to him its recommendations. In no sense is it to be a prosecuting body.

Second. A very thorough survey (following possibly the lines of the Chicago Vice Commission's investigation) be made by trained workers.

Third. Recommendations to the Mayor and City Council.

Fourth. Mass meetings and meetings of citizens to inform them of conditions and ask for support of the recommendations. This is most necessary, inasmuch as most city officials, although honestly inclined, are not able to carry action further than that demanded by the general consensus of public opinion.

Fifth. Organizations of various kinds to keep constantly informed and alive public opinion on the subject.

In addition we suggest the following recommendations :

First. Great emphasis should be placed on parental

responsibility and the duty of church and schools to inform the parents how to safeguard their children in sex life and relationship. The greatest care should be bestowed upon the education of the child in personal purity.

Second. Parents should demand a signed statement from a reputable physician that the man asking permission to marry their daughter is free from a contagious or incurable disease.

Third. The greatest care should be exercised in examining all printed matter offered to children purporting to give helpful instruction along sexual lines.

Fourth. Parents should accompany children of all ages, as far as possible, upon amusement excursions.

Recommendations to Churches and Other Religious Bodies

First. Pastors and religious workers should aid in arousing public opinion against the open and flagrant expression of the social evil.

Second. The churches should endeavor to counteract the evil influences in the community by opening rooms attached to the church buildings as recreational centers during week day evenings.

Conclusion

The greatest fact in connection with the social evil should not be lost sight of, namely: that this is a man problem, largely, rather than a woman problem. The supply is furnished by men, the service demanded

by men, and the profits reaped by men. So long as there is a demand, there will be some form of supply. The great hope is in minimizing the demand. This can be done by arousing in men a finer instinct of chivalry, a more splendid honor for womanhood, a sense of fairness and justice to women, and the conviction that to fight for a woman's honor is indeed the occasion for a valiant fight. That religious bodies should work to this end is the great hope. As civilization based upon christianity has increased, instead of reducing the problem, what a responsibility belongs to christianity!

To quote from Mr. R. Fulton Cutting in his work, "The Church and Society," page 8:

"Christianity is unmistakably responsible for the inception of modern democracy. Can she escape responsibility for its operation? She may not deny her parentage, however strenuously she may disclaim the occasional misconduct of her child. She may not remain a passive spectator of the panorama of communal activity. Society is groping its way through thicket and morass to higher ground, and needs all the help it can get from the genius that launched it upon the heroic voyage of popular sovereignty."

Or, again, to quote a religionist who is a social worker recognized throughout the land:

"The final function of the Church, the fulfilment of which is most essential to all social and civic organization, is to generate that public spirit and self-sacrifice which serve the common interests at the cost of personal ease and gain, or of class and institutional aggrandisement. Without this

social self-denial no patriotic, philanthropic, or progressive organization of a community can succeed or survive. It is the very soul of the body politic, without which it is dead while it lives. It is the dynamic of progress, without which the community is powerless to make any real advancement toward higher ideals. For the generation of this social power and for putting each citizen in possession of it the community rightfully looks to the Church more than to any other agency." *

But a great challenge is going out to womanhood to demand that which she has never demanded and which men have never been just enough to concede—the single standard of morality, for men and women alike.

What woman has been able to do so effectively by *indirection*, stands as an argument for the accomplishment of still greater things by *direct action*, in the form of the ballot. While the franchise to women may not bring us the millennium, it will, at least, give women the power to stand up and say to men: "No longer shall you exploit my sex in vicious selection of marriage, and no longer can you exploit my sex in commercialized vice." In the words of Finot:

"The conclusion that thrusts itself upon us is as simple as it is important for the issue of the dispute about the creative value of the two sexes. Woman is potentially the equal of man. She has no occasion to imitate him, for she, too, has the gift of originality, the gift of invention and discovery. Having again entered public life, she will not

* "Religion in Social Action," by Graham Taylor, D.D., page 246.

always follow men. She will be skillful enough to find ways to outstrip him. She will even go so far as to discover new paths to salvation.

“Man will thus follow woman, as woman will be able to follow man, in their way toward the perfection of affairs and the happiness of human beings.” *

* “Problems of the Sexes,” by Jean Finot, page 121.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART VI.

1. *What are the two main phases of the problem of the prevention of vice?*
2. *Why is the social evil unnecessary?*
3. *What is meant by "Commercialized Vice"?*
4. *What is the verdict of experts as to the segregation of the social evil?*
5. *What is the relation of the saloon to the social evil? How is the social evil an enemy of good police administration?*
6. *Give the chief sources of supply for commercialized vice.*
7. *What is relation of the social evil and crime?*
8. *What can be done to protect children from commercialized vice?*
9. *What can be done to rescue the victims of the evil?*
10. *What are some of the physical evils of the social evil?*
11. *What legislation is needed? What has been done to regulate marriage?*
12. *What recommendations can be made for improving the situation? What can women do to end the social evil?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The work of the Chicago Vice Commission.*
2. *The agencies in one's town aiming to help women who seek a new and better life.*
3. *The need of special health regulations for marriage.*
4. *The wisdom of sex-instruction in public schools.*
5. *The curse of the double standard in sex morality.*
6. *The failure of segregation.*

(THE PREVENTION OF SOCIAL WASTE continued in Volume XI.)

